

The History of the House of Angus
Joseph THE *History*
Bot. at Vendue
HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE and RACE
OF
DOUGLAS
AND
ANGUS.

Written by Mr. DAVID HUME
of GODSCROFT.

VOLUME II. containing the History of the
House of ANGUS.



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A CATALOGUE of the
Lives contained in the se-
cond Volume of this Hi-
story.

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THE HISTORY

Of the HOUSE and RACE of

ANGUS.

*Of the House of ANGUS before it came
to the Name of DOUGLAS.*

THE great and potent House of DOUGLAS (of which we may say, the best Subjects that ever served Prince, the worthiest Seconds that ever seconded any; worthy for their Modesty to be seconded by others; second to none in all Virtue, and true Worth of Valour, Magnanimity, Kindness, Courtesy, Faithfulness to King, Country and Kindred; serving their Prince, and served by the rest; worthily served, worthy to be served, as Knowers of Service, and Recompencers thereof in due Proportion and Degree, as Charters of Lands liberally given do testify) being thus brought to this pitiful End, there arose

Of the House of Angus

rose in place thereof the House of *ANGUS*, of which we come now to speak, and to view in the Descent of it. If we shall consider it in our best Discourse, with all Circumstances due to it, and compare it with the former, to which it succeeded, balancing all Things aright, we shall find it, as not fully so great in that huge Puissance and large Extent of Lands and Rents that the House of *Douglas* had, which did surpass all others that were before, or have been since amongst Subjects, so shall it be seen otherwise nothing inferior. In Antiquity *Angus* is thus far beyond it, that there have been divers Thanes of *Angus*, which was a Degree of Honour in those Days equal to that of Earls now; as also, that the Earls of *Angus* were created amongst the first that carried the Title of Earls in the Year 1057, or 1061, at the Parliament of *Forfar* in the Days of King *Malcolm Kenmore*: Whereas the House of *Douglas* was honoured only with the Title of Barons or Lords. This is much Preferment, yet it is more, that in our Chronicles the Name of the House of *Douglas* is then first found; whereas *Angus* is found 200 Years before that Time, in the Year 839: Howbeit we have already shown, that there were *Douglases* in the Year 767, though not mentioned by our Writers. In Blood they are equal on the Father's side, as being descended of the same Progenitors; so that whatever belongs to the House of *Douglas* before *James* slain at *Otterburn*, belongs also to the House of *Angus*: The first Earl of *Angus* of that Sirname being Brother to him, and both of them Sons to *William* the first Earl of *Douglas*; or rather the first Earl of *Douglas*, being also Earl of *Angus* in effect, seeing his Wife was Countess of *Angus*; howbeit he used not the Stile. By the Mother's side, the House of *Angus* hath the Pre-eminence, being descended

scended of the greatest in the Kingdom, and even of the Royal Stock, having been divers Ways mingled therewith. In Virtue, Valour, and Love of their Country, it resembleth the Spring from whence it flows, and comes nothing short of it. In Credit, Authority, Place and Action, Account, Favour and Affection of Men, we shall find it no less beloved and popular, and no less respected and honoured: So that with all this, (both Likeness and no great Inequality) bearing the Name of *Douglas*, together with the Arms and Title of Lords of *Douglas*, the Fall of this former House was the less felt, it seeming not so much cut off, as transplanted; nor destroyed, as transferred: Some Comfort it is, when it comes so to pass, as may be seen in many others.

To deduce then the House of *Angus* from the first Original thereof, it is declared by our Writers, that *Kenneth* the second Son to *Alpine*, the 69th King, having expelled the *Picts* out of their Kingdom, did dispose of their Lands to his Noblemen, and such as had done him good Service in the Wars. In which Distribution he gave the Province (of old called *Orestia*) to two Brothers, the elder of which was named *Angus*, or (as *Buchanan*) *Aeneas*, and the younger *Mearns*. These two Brothers dividing that Province betwixt them, gave each of them his Name to that Half he possessed; and so of one they made two, calling the one *Angus*, and the other the *Mearns*, as these Countries are so called at this present. This is the first Thane of *Angus*, from whom that Country took the Name. 2. After him we read of other Thanes, as of *Rohardus*, *Radardus*, or *Cadhardus*, who slew *Culenius*, the 79th King, for ravishing his Daughter. 3. Also there was one *Cruthnetus*, in the Reign of *Kenneth*, Brother to *Duff*, in the Year 961, who was slain by *Crathelint*,

838.

Of the House of Angus

who was his own Grandchild by his Daughter *Fenella* or *Finabella*, married to the Thane of the *Mearns*. 4. Then we have one *Sinel*, in the Reign of *Malcolm*, the second Son to this *Kenneth*, who began his Reign 1104, and reigned thirty Years, who married *Donca*, or *Doada*, younger Daughter to King *Malcolm*, whose elder Sister *Beatrix* was married to *Cri-nen* Thane of the *Isles*, and Principal of the *Thanes*, whom that Age called *Abthane*. 5. Of this Marriage was procreate *Mackbeth*, or *Mack-bed*, or *Mackabee*, Thane of *Angus*, and afterwards King of *Scotland*, of whom the History is sufficiently known. 6. The last Thane was *Luthlack*, Son to *Mackbeth*, who was installed King at *Seoon* after his Father's Death; but within three Months he was encountered by King *Malcolm*, and slain at *Strathbogie*. This was about the Year 1056 or 1057. And so much of the first Period of the House of *Angus*, under the Title of *Thanes*.

THE second Period of the House of *Angus*, is under the Title of *Earls*, before it come to the Name of *Stewart*. The first is, one made Earl by King *Malcolm* at the Parliament of *Forfar*, where *Boetius* telleth expressly, that the Thane of *Angus* was made Earl of *Angus*. The next is in the Days of King *David* (called *Saint David*) in the Wars with *Stephen* King of *England*, in the Battle at *Alerton*, where the General, the Earl of *Glocester*, was taken Prisoner: The *Scottish* Army is said to have been conducted by the Earls of *March*, *Strath-earn* and *Angus*, in the Year 1136 or 1137, but he is not named. The third is *Gilchrist*, in the Year 1153, in the Reign of *Malcolm* the *Maiden*, who did good Service against *Summerledus* Thane of *Argyle*: And being married to the King's Sister, having found her false, put her to Death, and fearing the King, fled into *England*,

before it came to the Name of Douglas.

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England, but afterwards was pardoned. Then we have *John Cuming* in the Days of *Alexander II.* in the Year 1239, of whom we read nothing, but that he was sent Ambassador into *France* to *Lewis* then King, and that he died by the Way before he had delivered his Ambassage. (*Boetius, Holinshed.*) This was about 1330.

THE third Period, is in the Sirname of *Stewarts*; of whom the first is one *John Stewart*, entitled Earl of *Angus*, Lord of *Boncle* and *Abernethy*, in a Charter given by him to *Gilbert Lumisdon* of *Blainearn*, yet extant in the Hands of the House of *Blainearn*. It is not dated, but the Witnesses shew the Time, for *Randolphus custos regni Scotia* is one. What this *John* was is uncertain, but in likelihood he hath been Brother to *Walter*, the seventh from the first *Walter*, and Son to *John*, and so also Uncle to *Robert* the first King of that Name, for so the Time doth bear; and his Father *John*, or himself, married the Heiress of *Boncle*, and was slain at the Battle of *Falkirk* in the Year 1299. This *John* was slain at *Halidownhill*, together with his Brothers *James* and *Allan*. (*Buch. lib. 9.*) 2. The second is, *Thomas* (apparently Son to *John*) who assisted the Earl of *Douglas* and the Earl of *March* in their taking of *Berwick* in the Year 1337 or 1358. He died in the Castle of *Dumbarton*, having been imprisoned there, but for what is not known. 3. Then *Thomas* again, Father to *Margaret Stewart* Countess of *Mar* and *Angus*. 4. Last of all, *Margaret Stewart*, Daughter to this *Thomas*, married first to *Thomas Mar* Earl of *Mar* in her Father's Lifetime apparently; and after her Father's Death, who died without Heirs Male, she was Heir to her Father by the Renunciation of her Sister *Elizabeth*, who was married afterwards to *Alexander*.

Of the first Earl of Angus.

der Hamilton of Cadzow, and so she was Countess of *Mar* and *Angus*, Dowager, or Lady Tercer, of *Mar*, and Inheritrix of the Earldom of *Angus*. Her first Husband dying without Issue, she was married after his Death to *William* the first Earl of *Douglas*, she being his third Wife, as hath been shewed, in the Year 1381. She was a kind Lady to her Friends, loving to her Sister *Elizabeth*, and a careful Mother to her Son *George* Earl of *Angus*. She is never designed Countess of *Douglas*, either for Distinction, being better known by her Titles of *Mar* and *Angus*, or because these were more ancient, and no less honourable. She is the twelfth from *Bancho*, and tenth from *Walter* the first *Stewart*, and she is the last of that Name in the House of *Angus*. And thus much of the House of *Angus* in general before it came to the *Douglases*, of whom now it is time to speak.

Of William Earl of Douglas and Angus, being the first Earl of Angus of the Name of Douglas.

WE shall do no wrong to reckon *William* (the first Earl of *Douglas*) as the first Earl of *Angus* also of the Name of *Douglas*, seeing he married the Inheritrix of *Angus*. Nay we should do him wrong to omit him, being the Root from which all the rest are sprung. He was the first Earl of *Douglas*, and first Earl of *Angus* of the Name of *Douglas*, though it be true that he was twenty three or twenty four Years Earl of *Douglas* before he came to be Earl of *Angus*, and that is all the Difference betwixt the Antiquity of these two Houses

Of George Douglas *second Earl*, &c.

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ses in Possession of that Name. Now that it was Earl *William* himself, and none else, it is evident by a Bond made by the said Earl *William* to his Sister *Marjory* Countess of *Mar*, for the due Payment of the said *Marjory*'s third, let to him and *Margaret Stewart* Countess of *Mar* and *Angus*, where he calls her his Wife. Also that the same Earl *William* was Father to *George*, it is clear by a Charter of Tutorry, and Entail made by Sir *James Sandilands* of *West-Calder* to *George*, in which Sir *James* speaking, says thus, "The Lands of *Calder* were given to my Father and Mother of good Memory by my Lord Sir *William* Earl of *Douglas* and *Mar*, his Father; that is, Father to *George*." Of the Life of this *William* we have spoken in the House of *Douglas*, whither we refer the Reader,

Of George Douglas, *second Earl* of that Name, and Son to Margaret Stewart Countess of Mar and Angus.

GEORGE his Son entreth to the Earldom in the Year 1389, the 9th of *April*, a Boy of seven or eight Years old at most; for he was born but in 1381, which is the first Year that we find his Father and Mother married. His Mother resigned the Earldom of *Angus* in his Favour, at a Parliament in the aforesaid Year 1389, the 9th of *April*; so that he hath the Title of Earl of *Angus*, from that Time forth notwithstanding his Mother was alive.

1389.

HE had to Wife *Mary Stewart* Daughter to His Wife King *Robert III.* being then about sixteen or King *Robert* seventeen Years of Age. All that we hear of *III's* Daughter in our Histories is, that he was taken Pri-
soner

Of William the third Earl of Angus.

soner with the Earl of *Douglas* at the Battle of *Homeldoun* in the Year 1402. When he died is uncertain, only thus much we know, that his Son *William* kept Courts as Earl in the Year 1430. So he hath lived 42 or 43 Years. And certainly he hath not lived long; for after his Death *Mary Stewart* his Wife was twice married, first to the Lord *Kennedy*, and bare to him *John Lord Kennedy*, and *James Archbishop* of *St. Andrews*, who are called Brothers to his Son *George Earl of Angus*. Then she was married to the Lord *John Graham* of *Dindaff-moor*, and bare to him *Patrick Graham Bishop* also of *St. Andrews*, and *James Graham* first Laird of *Fintry*.

His Children were *William* and *George*, both Earls of *Angus* after him.

Of William the third Earl of Angus, and second of that Name.

TO *George* succeeded *William* his Son by *Mary Stewart*, as all our Writers do testify, and all Men acknowledge: He was, amongst those that were committed to Prison by King *James I.* in the Year 1424. After this he was employed to receive the Castle of *Dumbar*, when the Earl of *March* was imprisoned, in the Year 1435. the 29th of King *James I.*'s Reign, he was made Warden of the middle Marches.

Warden of
the middle
Marches.

1436.

IN the Year 1436 he was sent against *Percy*, who, either by private Authority or public Allowance had entred *Scotland* with 4000 Men; he was about the same Number, and had with him in Company Men of Note, *Adam Hepburn* of *Hales*, *Alexander Ramsay* of *Dalhousie*,

and second of the Name of William

house, Sir Gilbert Johnston of Elphinston. They fought at Piperdain or Piperdean, as say Boetius and Holinshed, perhaps Harperdean by Haddington; for we see that most of them are Lothian Men that are remarked to be in his Company, yet it is hard to think that Percy could come so far in with so few. The Earl of Angus was there Victor, beginning his first Wars upon Percy, fatal to the Name belike. There were slain of the English 400, together with Sir Henry Gliddisdale, Sir John Ogle, Sir Richard Percy Knights, 1500 taken Prisoners. Of the Scots one only of Note was slain, Sir Gilbert Johnston of Elphinston (Buchanan calls him Alexander, but amiss) a Gentleman of singular approved Virtue, says Buchanan, and Boetius tells the Manner, while he pursues the Enemy too eagerly. The Battle at Piperdean, 1436.
He overthrew Percy.

BEFORE this Archibald Earl of Douglas and Wigton was gone into France discontented with the Government, having been twice committed Prisoner, to receive his Dukedom of Touraine. Every Mishap is good for somebody; that gave Occasion and Way to this Employment; for while the House of Douglas was present, who but they for Service against England? Who but they were able to do it? Now they being absent, who but a Douglas? A Branch of that Tree, and not long since come off it, especially being the King's Cousin so near. So they begin, and so they shall continue with the like Virtue.

WE hear not whom he married, nor any thing of his Children, save of his Son James who did succeed to him. Neither is it known when he died precisely; only we find that he was dead before the 27th February 1437. So that reckoning from the first Year of his Father's Marriage, in the Year 1398, he hath lived some

Of James the fourth Earl of Angus.

41 Years in all, and 13 Years Earl from the 1424.

Of James the fourth Earl of Angus, of the Sirname of Douglas.

After *William*, his Son *James* was Earl. Our Warrant is a Writ, where he is served Heir to *William* his Father in *Kirriemuir*, of the Date *February 27. 1437.* some six or seven Days after the Death of King *James I.* There are also divers other Writs of this kind extant, which do witness that he hath been, but of no Use in Publick, or for History. Whether ever he was married, or had any Children we hear nothing. He died before the Year 1452.

THERE is one thing not to be omitted, which is a Bond of *Robert Fleming* of *Cumbernauld*, to him, where he is entitled *James Earl of Angus Lord of Liddisdale and Jedburgh-Forest*, to enter within the Iron-gate of the Castle of *Tantallon* or *Hermitage*, under the Pain of 2000 Merks upon eight Days Warning. The Cause is subjoined, because he had burnt the Earl's Corn within the Barony of *North-Berwick*, and taken away his Cattle there on *Fastings-even* or *Shrove-Tuesday*, it is dated in the Year 1444, the 24th of *September*. This Burning is a Token of no Good-will even then betwixt the House of *Angus*, and the House of *Douglas*, whereof the Lord *Fleming* was a Follower. Even then, I say, before the Time of *William* slain at *Stirling*: For this seems to have fallen out about the Time of *Gross James*, or it may be in the Beginning of Earl *William*. But it is hard to conceive how this Man, a Depender

Of George, the second George, &c.

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pender of the Earls of Douglas, should thus far have bowed himself; and it is a Token that the Earl of Angus's Authority hath not been small. Howsoever, on these Grounds we have restored him to his own Place, being left out altogether by all others that I have seen.

Of George Douglas, the second George, and fifth Earl of Angus.

TO James succeeded his Uncle George, by the Consent of our whole Writers, who all speaking of King James II. call this George the King's Father's Sister's Son; so the King and he are Brother and Sister's Children. We need not to impugn the received Opinion; the Time and Computation of Years will admit it sufficiently; for though he were born two Years after his Father's Marriage, 1400, yet shall he not pass 63 at his Death: Neither doth any other thing that I know of, hinder us from believing this Deduction. Wherefore we will follow them, though we have no other Monument to testify so much expressly, or to hinder him from being Son to James. There is this Scruple in it, that Buchanan calls James Kennedy Archbishop of St. Andrews, of greater Age than George Douglas; which, if it be true, then George could not be his Brother; for their Mother was first married to Angus. We have Monuments of him as Earl in the Year 1452, May 24. and in the last of September 1461, and of his Son retoured Heir to him in the 1463: So that he hath been Earl about ten or eleven Years: But our Histories say it was he that assisted Crichton to spoil the Earl Douglas's Lands of Strabroke, &c. from about 1445, or

1446 Years, and so his Time shall be seventeen Years.

*Sibbald his
Wife.*

*Original of
the House
of Balgony
Sibard, Buch,
lib. 7.*

He married *Elizabeth Sibbald* Daughter to *Sibbald of Balgony*, Treasurer of *Scotland* for the Time, profitably, and not dishonourably; for his Place of Treasurer was a Place of Credit and Honour, and himself descended of honourable Race, viz. the Earls of *Northumberland*, who were of that Name in the Days of *Malcolm Kenmore*, and Grandfather to the said *Malcolm* by his Mother, and had the leading of the *English* Army that was sent in for his Aid against *Macbeth*, to the Number of 10,000 Men. We find also the Name of *Sibards* in the Days of King *Alexander II.* to have been in good Account, of whom *Buchanan* writes, that they entertained Feud against the Earl of *Athol*; as also that the said Earl of *Athol* being burnt in his Lodgings in *Haddington*, the Chief of the *Sibards*, whom he calleth *William*, without any further Designation (*Boetius* calleth him *John*) being suspected thereof, because of their known Enmity, was called in question for it, and arraigned. And although he proved by the Testimony of the Queen, that he was in *Forfar* at the Time, some sixty Miles from *Haddington*, yet the Judge thought not this sufficient to absolve him, because the other Party alledged that his Servants and Followers had been seen very many of them in the Town. And although he offered to purge himself by Combat, it could not be accepted: Whereupon, he fearing the Power of his adverse Party (which were the *Cummings*) fled into *Ireland* with a Number of his Name. By which Relation it appears that this Name hath been in good Account, and this Marriage no way disparageable. It was also profitable in effect, but more in Hope, which was to have succeeded Heir to the Estate of

Bal-

Balgony, both Lands and Moveables, she being his only Daughter, and he himself and his Lady of good Age, the Contract also being made so that he should be Heir, failing Heirs-male of his own Body, whereof there was small Appearance; yet, as it often falls out in such Cases, the Divine Providence eluding human Wisdom, that they may know that there is a directing and over-ruling Wisdom and Power above theirs, that Hope was disappointed. His Mother-in-law dieth, his Father-in-law marrieth a second Wife, and by her hath Heirs-male to inherit his Lands. I think if he had known what was to come, he would not have done it. And yet is *Balgony* disappointed also; for his Son had but one Daughter who was married to *Lundy*, and so transferred it from the Name where he thought to have settled it. *Angus* gets with his Lady 3000 Merks of Portion, no small Sum in those Days, when Portions were little, and the Terms of Payment long.

His Children were *Archibald*, and another His Child; Son, whose Name we have not. Some tell us ^{dren.}

of *James* Earl of *Angus*, and Lord Warden of the Borders. But when should he have been Earl of *Angus*? For *Archibald* succeeded to *George*; and to *Archibald* his Grand-child, *Archibald*.

The Truth is this, *James* was before Son to *William*, as hath been said; yet it may be that he hath had a Son named *James* also, though Writers do not name him. He had four Daughters; first *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Graham* of *Fintry*; second, *Margaret*, to *Duncan Campbell*; third, *Giles*, and fourth, *Alison*, of whose Marriage there is no Mention.

He had also a Son Natural, of whom are descended the House of *Bonjedward*: His Daughters were not married in his own Time, (perhaps they have been young) but their Brother *Bonjedward*, in the Year 1476, contracts with *Robert Graham*.

The Original of the House of *Bonjedward*.

Of George, the second George,

ham of Fintry, to marry his Sister *Elizabeth*, failing her, *Margaret*; and failing *Margaret*, *Giles*; and failing *Giles*, *Alison*; so soon as a Dispensation can be obtained, for they were within the Degrees then forbidden, she being the third from *Mary Stewart* the King's Daughter, and *Robert Graham* in the same Degree, (belike Son to *James Graham*.) The Portion is 400 Merks. *Margaret* was married to *Duncan Campbell*, we know not of what House, in the Year 1479. Her Brother contracts for 600 Merks, and finds *Robert Douglas* of *Lochleven*, and *Alexander Ramsay* of *Dalhousie* Surety for it. Her Mother gives her Bond for their Relief.

His Person.

To return to Earl *George*, we find that he was a Man very well accomplished, of Personage tall, strong, and comely; of great Wisdom and Judgment: He is also said to have been eloquent. He was valiant and hardy in a high Degree; his Father carrying the Name of *George* also; we saw how by his Mother's Help he raised and advanced the House many ways, almost doubling the Estate of it, as it was before him, this Man rears it up a great deal higher upon the Ruins of the House of *Douglas*, yet doth he also diminish his own Patrimony and Revenues of *Angus*, whilst to gain Service and Dependence, he bestows liberally, chiefly his Lands of *Angus*, for he reduced the greatest Part thereof from Property to Superiority only, there being above twenty four Barons and Lords in *Angus*, that hold their

He followeth the King against the Earl *Douglas* his Chief.

Lands of the Earls of *Angus*. His Determination was fully to follow the King, though against his Chief and Cousin. But the King who had espoused the Quarrel, and made the Earl *Douglas* Party, was nearer to him in Blood, and therefore Reason inclined his Mind more to him. Besides he was a King, Duty required his

his Assistance. Hope also swayed the Balance greatly; there is Hope of a King's Liberality, chiefly when Lands come in dealing and parting: And he being a *Douglas*, and the Lands having belonged to a *Douglas*, he had great Probability to expect a large Share in them: For to whom could they be given so justly and pertinently? His Brother Bishop *Kennedy* could well incite him to it. There was no Hope of rising for him, that huge Tree of *Douglas* standing, which overtopped all others, and overshadowed the whole Borders, and almost the whole Kingdom. This Bishop was younger than *Angus*, but wise, virtuous and learned, and of Authority: Experience also had given Occasion of late to think that the House of *Douglas* drew all to themselves. The Maiden of *Galloway*, the Earl of *Wigton's* Daughter, was thought fittest to have been matched to some other *Douglas*, being near to the Earl, as was thought then, and the House, too great already in the King's Eyes, not to be augmented. But he would none of such Wisdom; he marieth her himself, and disappoints them all. Who could look for any Rising by these Mens Means, or in their standing in such Greatness? Yet the Cause seems to go higher than the King's Cause: For even when the Earl of *Douglas* had the King's Authority on his Side and *Crichton* was denounced Rebel, *Angus* assists *Crichton* against the King's Authority. Wherefore in all likelyhood, the Course hath begun in King *James I's* Time. Then hath the House of *Angus* entred into Friendship with *Crichton*, in the Days of *William* Earl of *Angus*, which hath continued in the Time of Earl *James* his Son, whose Lands *Robert Fleming* therefor did burn and Spoil in the Barony of *North-Berwick*. And now that Course begun then, is here prosecuted by Earl *George* to the

Of George, the second George,

the utmost Point. A Pity of such Dissention in these Houses, or one House rather, against which, if it had not been thus divided in itself, their Enemies could hardly have prevailed. For it cannot be denied but the House of Douglas had great Wrong, and was treacherously dealt with by Crichton; neither did it ever intend any thing against the King; but the King was drawn to the Party against it. Though in the good Cause of it, it committed Errors, it is to be pitied and lamented; for who doth not err? Also George Earl of Angus declares not himself openly against the House of Douglas for a Time. The Support that he is said to have given to William Crichton is said to have been covertly at the spoiling of Strabroke and Abercorn: Neither after that, until such Time as the King declared himself openly, slew William Earl Douglas at Stirling, and made open War against James who succeeded to him. Then he also declared for the King, and bent his whole Force and Power to aid him. He had that same Year before, the 24th of May 1432, taken a Course for keeping good Order in his Country of Liddisdale, and to keep his Castle of the Hermitage safe for him, and that his Folks should do no Hurt to others; nor receive any of the Enemies. He had for that Purpose made Sir Archibald Douglas of Carvers (Sheriff of Roxburgh) and William his Son, Bailiffs of Liddisdale, and Keepers of the Castle, who undertook, and bound themselves to do what we have said, for which he allowed them a large Recompence and Reward, as the Indenture thereof yet extant doth testify. He is stiled in it Warden of the East Marches, William Earl of Douglas being then alive. Some give unto him the Honour of the Battle in which the Earl Douglas was defeated in Annandale, where the Earl of Murray was slain, and

and Ormond taken in the Year 1455. Others attribute all to the Lord Carlisle, and Johnstoun.

BUT however that was, in the Year 1457 1457, Heo- he defeated the said Earl, and Henry Percy venthrows Earl of Northumberland, on the East Border, the Earls of which was his Wardenry, in a bloody Battle, Douglas and for the Earl of Douglas, and Northumberland, Percy in a bloody Battle a fatal Warrior to the Douglasses, having con- tle in the yeened an Army, and come to the Merse, be- Merse. gan to spoil and burn the Country; but the Earl of Angus set upon the Forragers and drove them to the Host. The Earls moved with this Indignity, (though many that were gone out to forrage were not yet come in) advanced and presented him Battle, which he also accepted. After a sharp Conflict on both Sides, with a greater Courage and Spite than Strength, the Victory, which a long Time was doubtful which Way to incline, at last fell to the Earl of Angus, not without some Loss. The Number of the slain was equal, but the English were put to Flight, and many of them made Prisoners. A chief Cause of this Defeat was the Suddenness of the Enemy in giving Battle, and his not staying for the rest that were abroad, and had been sent out to forrage the Country; for they being laden with Booty, when they heard the Noise of the Fight, were so far from coming to succour their Fellows, that, for fear of losing what they had gotten, they took their Way directly home into England. This Victory did not a little recreate the King, being wearied both with Civil and Foreign War. For this Service, which was exceeding pleasing and acceptable, the King gives him a new Charter of the Lordship of Douglas, upon a Resignation, which he had gotten before when the Earl Douglas was forfeited. What other Lands he got we have no special Mention.

So the Earl Douglas being now forfeited, his Bro-

Of George, the second George,

Brother slain, himself banished, and with small either Effect or Effort, entertaining Hostility by small Incursions, rather than doing any thing for the advancing of his main Business, the Face of the World was quite changed. The Earl of *Angus* was now made Lord of *Douglas*, and howbeit he came somewhat short of that huge Greatness and Puissance of the former, yet was he nothing inferior in place of Authority, in Credit and Account, in Action and Employment, as we said in the Beginning. Nothing was done but by him, and under his Shadow. Bishop *Kennedy* had the greatest Vogue, he upheld the Bishop by his Power, and by him Men did come to find Favour, and did seek to have Credit. We will set down two Examples for all the rest, but those remarkable, and sufficient to shew of what great Account and Authority he hath been; the one is of our own Nation, the other of a Foreigner.

THE first is in the same Year 1457, the 13th of *May*. We heard of *James* Lord *Hamilton*, a faithful, frank, and forward Friend for the Earl *Douglas*, so long as he was a Friend to himself by any Action; he leaving himself, *Hamilton* also left him: I mean, seeing the Earl had lost that so fair Occasion, if not to cast the Dice for the Crown, as the Lord *Hamilton* said to him, yet to cast the Dice for the Victory, and to give or take Conditions of Peace, which he had at *Abercorn*, being more in Number than the King. The Lord *Hamilton* was come in to the King upon this that same Night; he was received by the King, but not greatly credited, for he was committed to *Roslin*, a Castle then of the Earl of *Orkney's*, and afterwards, say our Writers, Friends interceeding for him, he was released out of Prison, and received into most inward Friendship. Thus far they go; but what Friends these were,

or how the Friendship was made, they do not tell. The Earl of *Angus's* Evidents tell us, and show that it hath been he that did him this friendly Office: For whether before to move him to intercede for him, or after in Token of Thankfulness, (tho' it be most likely it was after, because it is done at *Tantallon*, which must be after his Release out of *Roslin*) he giveth to this Earl *George* a memorable Remembrance. He, I say, being a Nobleman, and a notable active Man besides, gives him his Bond of Service, or Manrent, and that in ample Form and submissive Terms, excepting none but the King and Queen. And that I may not seem to speak without a Warrant in so great a Matter, scarce to be believed of some, and that I do rather amplify things than set down the naked Truth, I will set down the very Words of the Bond, as it is extant in the Hands of the Earl of *Angus*, which now is copied Word by Word, that every Man may judge of it as he thinks good.

BE IT KNOWN to all Men by this present Bond of Letters, Me James Lord Hamilton, &c. to be Manrent comen, and by these Presents to become Man of and Service special Service and Retinue, for all the Days of my Lifetime, to an high and mighty Lord, ^{by the Lord Hamilton to him.} George Earl of Angus, Lord Douglas, and Warden of the East and Middle Marches of Scotland, foregainst England: Before, and against all them that live or die may; mine Allegiance to our Sovereigne Lord the King, and my Band of Service to our Sovereigne Lady the Queen Mary now present, allanerly outtane. Promising all and sundry dutifull Points, in Bands of Retinue contained, to observe and keep to my Lord foresaid, as effeirs, for all the said Time. In witnesse of the which Thing I have gard set my Seale. At Tantallon the
13. Day

Of George, the second George,

13. Day of the Moneth of May, the Year of our Lord 1457, &c.

IT hath been no small Matter, nor small Authority of him to whom it is given, that hath moved such a Man to give such a Bond. His Credit hath been great, and *Hamilton* hath either received great Benefit at his Hand, or expected to receive some. I take it, that he hath procured his Liberty, and obtained to him that Favour in Court which our Writers speak of, to be of the King's inward Friends. I suppose also that Kindred hath been of some Moiment to move him to it. The Reason of my Conjecture is, because we have heard before, that *Elizabeth*, Sister to *Margaret* Countess of *Mar* and *Angus*, and Grandmother to this Earl *George*, was married to Sir *Alexander Hamilton* of *Cadzow*, as some call him; by which Means this *James* Lord *Hamilton* might be third from her, and the Earl of *Angus* and be Cousins twice removed, or fourths in Kin, as we speak. But this I refer to them that have the Monuments of that House. However, what more Honour could have been done to the great House of *Douglas*, in the greatest Grandeur thereof, than what is here done to the House of *Angus*? Neither is it any Dishonour to him that doth it: It is but Folly to think so. Houses have their Beginning and Growth; mine to Day, thine to Morrow. This same Lord *Hamilton* by these Beginnings, within a few Years, seventeen or eighteen at most, shall lay such Grounds of Greatness, as shall lift his House above any Subject's, to the very Top of all, so as to have the Crown entailed to his Posterity, and to enjoy it for a while as Regent and Governor. Let us remember the Changes of the World, and the Vicissitudes of Fortune, and let every Man bear with Patience, and hear with

with Calmness, either what he is now, or what he was before. And this for the first domestic Witness of Honour and Authority, Credit and Greatness of the House of *Angus* in this Man's Person.

Indenture
betwixt
King Henry
VI. and him,

THE other amongst Foreigners was greater, which is this: The King of *England*, *Henry VI.* being overthrown and put out of his Kingdom and Country of *England* by the Duke of *York*, *Edward IV.* he, his Son and his Queen being come into *Scotland* for Refuge, he indents with *George Earl of Angus* for his Assistance, to help to restore him to his Kingdom; and binds himself to give unto *George Earl of Angus* and his Heirs, Lands lying betwixt *Trent* and *Humber*, worth 2000 Merks *Sterling* of yearly Rent. 2. That he should erect it into a Dutchy, and infest the said Earl therein, in as free Knight-service as any Land in *England*, and that the Earl and his Heirs should be Dukes thereof. 3. That in time of Peace between *Scotland* and *England*, it should be lawful for the said Earl to repair to *England* to his Dutchy, or to Court, or where he pleased, with an hundred Horse in Train. 4. And that if there happened to be War betwixt the Countries, it should be lawful for him to send twenty four armed Men, who should be under the King of *England's* Protection, to gather and uplift for his Use, the Rents and Revenues of the said Dutchy. 5. That it should be lawful for him, during the Wars between the two Countries, to serve the King of *Scotland*: Which should nowise prejudice him in the enjoying of his Lands; neither should it be a Cause of Forfeiture or Unlaw. 6. That he should not be bound to answer in Person to the Parliaments of *England*, or any other Court of Justice; and that neither he, nor his Tenants, should be fined for his Non-compearance.

Of George, the second George,

ance. 17. That this Indenture should be shown to the Pope, and ratified by him. And so it was, sealed and subscribed with a *HENRY* as long as the whole Sheet of Parchment, the worst shapen Letters, and the worst put together, that I ever saw. And, as I believe, it hath a particular Letter of Confirmation of the Pope, in the Hands of the Earl of *Angus*. It is thought that when *William* Earl of *Douglas* went secretly into *England*, that his Errand was to this, or some such Purpose, to have made a Proffer of his Service to King *Henry*, on these or the like Conditions; for even then the Seeds of civil Discord were sown, and began to bud forth. But either because Things were not as yet come to any Ripeness, or for that the Earl of *Douglas* was fallen into Disgrace with his Prince, nothing was done. Now about the Year 1460, in the Minority of King *James* III. King *Henry* came into *Scotland*, and did thus transact with the Earl of *Angus*: A rare Thing, and whereof the like Example is hardly to be found in any Subject, except it be the Earl of *Douglas* concerning the Duchy of *Touraine* with the King of *France*, which is not unlike in many Things. Howtoever, this shews how little inferior the House of *Angus* hath been to the House of *Douglas* in Credit and Authority at home and abroad.

1460.

THIS Indenture took no Effect, it being now too late, and King *Henry*'s Estate brought to so low an ebb, that both his Friends and his Fortune having forsaken and turned their Backs upon him, his Aid could not suffice, against the whole Power of *England*, to make head against King *Edward*, and to stop the current of his Victories. Notwithstanding, *Angus* gave him a taste of what he could have done for him, and shewed him in a notable Exploit, how available his Service would have been, if his

his Case had not been desperate and past recovery; which though it were not rewarded with a Dutchy, yet doth it not want, nor ever shall want the due Reward of high Praise and Honour, as one of the hardiest and greatest Enterprizes that hath been atchieved by any Subject.

THE Queen (King Henry's Wife) had obtained of her Friends in France a few Soldiers, 300 of which were in the Castle of *Alnwick* with Monsieur *Brissac* their Commander. King *Edward* following his Victories, and that he might prevent or suppress any Commotion that might arise in the North-parts, or out of *Scotland*, was come to *Durham* with a great Army. He himself remaining in the Town, sent abroad his Commanders to take in all such Castles as stood good for King Henry; amongst others he sent the Earl of *Warwick* to besiege *Alnwick* with 20,000 Men. He had another Army lying about *Bamborough*, not far off from this; and a third besieging another Town. King Henry, and more especially his Queen, being very solicitous for the *Frenchmen*, dealt with the Earl of *Angus* very instantly to have them relieved: He promised to do his best, and performed no less than he promised. He assembled to the Number of 10,000 Horse, amongst whom there were 300 empty Horses or more, (for commonly the best appointed have ever two Horses for Service) upon which he might mount the *Frenchmen*, and bring them away. So he marches toward *Alnwick*, and when he came within a little Space of the Castle, he ranged his Men in Order of Battle, in the Sight of the *English* Army, making show as if he would have invaded them, or at least that he meant to bid them Battle, if they should offer to set upon him, or hinder him in his purposed Business. In the mean time he sent those

He-brings
the French
out of *Alnwick*
Castle.

Of George, the second George,

those 500 spare Horse, conducted by some choice Troops, to a Postern of the Castle, to receive the *French*, and so brought them away. Some of the *English* esteeming it a great Affront, to suffer them to be carried away in such sort from under their Noses, advised the Earl of *Warwick* to stay them; but he was resolute in the contrary, and told them, that he had no Commission to fight. "And, says he, who knows what more Aid these may have near-hand, in the Park, or some other Place; and suppose they have not, these are certainly all choice Men, able enough to sustain our Charge. They cannot take the Castle with them into *Scotland*; let them take the Men, I shall get the Castle, which is all that my Commission bears." And so he lets them go, who returned into *Scotland* with the *Frenchmen*: An acceptable Present, chiefly to the Queen of *England*. This was a fair Essay and Preamble of his ensuing Services; which being prevented by King *Henry's* Destiny and his Death, were smothered in the Cradle; and his Dutchy, engrossed in Parchment to have lien betwixt *Trent* and *Humber*, is confined to a narrower Precinct, within the Compass of a Coffin.

NOTWITHSTANDING this Greatness and Power, to make him yet stronger and more puissant on the Borders, he did exchang his Lands in the *Mains* and *Clarberon* with *Robert Graham* of *Old-Montrose*, and got for them the Lands of *Eskdale* upon the Border.

HE contracted his Son *Archibald*, and his Heir apparent, to *Katharine* Daughter to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly*, or to any other of his Daughters which the said *George* should choose. The Portion 2000 Merks; the Terms of Payment ten Years, 100 Merks every Term. That if *Archibald* should die, his Brother, whom the

the Indenture doth not name, should marry one of the said Earl of *Huntly's* Daughters. That the Earl of *Angus* should give his Son an Hundred Merk Land in *Angus*. That *Archibald*, after he be seven Years old, shall be given to the Earl of *Huntly*, and the Earl of *Huntly's* Daughter to the Earl of *Angus*. The Indenture is dated at *St. Andrews* the last of *September 1461*. This Marriage took no Effect, whatever was the Cause thereof.

EITHER before or after this there fell out a Dissention amongst the Estates about the choosing of a Governor and Protector for the young King *James III*. In which he and his Brother Bishop *Kennedy*, with the greatest part of the Nobility, opposed themselves to the Queen, who pretended to be Tutrix, and had now usurped that Place a Year, whilst the Nobility, being busied in the Wars, had no leisure to look into these Things. The Queen, and such as followed her, remained in the Castle, and the other Party in the Abbey of *Holy-rood-house*. A Convention being appointed, the Queen and her Faction came to the Parliament-house, and declared her Tutrix. So soon as this was known, the Earl of *Angus* and *James Kennedy* came up to the Market-place, where the said Bishop declares, that their Intention was nothing else but to maintain their old Law and the ancient Practice of the Country, which was, that in such Cases the Nobility should choose one whom they thought most fit to undergo that Charge of Governing, which was for the Good both of the King and Country; whereas they of the other Party intended nothing but their own particular Advantage, as he should show more evidently in Time and Place convenient. After this Speech, as they retired to their Lodging, they were advertised that those who were in the Castle with

Of George, the second George, &c.

the Queen were coming down in Arms to assault them, or to have hindred them from making this Declaration. The Earl of *Angus* thinking it a great Indignity, that they being more in Number, and better in Quality, should give place to the weaker, and the meaner and inferior Party, and that in such sort as might seem to be a direct Flight, could scarce be retained, but that he would needs turn upon them and fight, though he were not armed as they were. But the Matter was composd by the Mediation of the Bishops of *Glasgow*, *Galloway* and *Dumblane*, and Assurance given for a Month. After the expiring whereof, having entred into a new Consultation, with more peaceable and calm Minds, both Parties agreed, That the King and Country should be governed by four Noblemen, two of which should be chosen out of the Queen's Party, and two out of the other. For the Queen, she chose *William* Lord *Graham*, and *Robert* Lord *Boyd* then Chancellor; for the other side, they chose *Robert* Earl of *Orkney*, and *John* Lord *Kennedy*, all Chief of their Name and Families. Here is no Mention of the Earl of *Angus*, which makes me think he hath died in the mean time, during the Truce; otherwise, being Principal of this other side, they would not have neglected him. Sure he died much about this Time, which seems to have been in the Year 1462. Neither did his Brother Bishop *Kennedy's* Business go so well after this. He was buried in *Abernethy* amongst his Predecessors.

His Death.
1462.

His Wife, after his Death, is said to have married a younger Brother of the Captain of *Crawford*, and that she got from her Son *Archibald* the Lands of *Balmoodie* in *Fife*, and that the House of *Balmoodie* is descended of her; which notwithstanding we find she binds herself

herself for Relief of her Son, for the Payment of her Daughter's Portion, in 1479, as a free Person, making no Mention of a Husband. It is true he might also have been dead, then the Space being seventeen or eighteen Years: But if her Son were so liberal as to give her such Lands, he would never have troubled her to bind herself for his Relief in the Payment of his Sister's Portion in likelihood.

Of the first Archibald, and sixth Earl of Angus, commonly called Bell the Cat.

TO George succeeded *Archibald* his Son and Heir, a Boy about five or six Years of Age at the most; for in the Year 1461, the last of *September*, he is not seven, as appears by the Indenture made betwixt his Father and the Earl of *Huntly* concerning his Marriage: It took no Effect; but in place thereof he married *Elizabeth Boyd* Daughter to *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, then one of the Governors of *Scotland*, viz. on the 4th of *May* 1468; which makes it seem that the Match hath not failed on the Earl of *Huntly*'s part, but on his, or at least theirs to whose Tuition he hath been committed; they, or he, preferring Credit at Court before their keeping and fulfilling of the Contract made by his Father. But it was little to their Advantage; for the next Year after that the Court was changed, the *Boyd*s were discarded, his Brother-in-law *Thomas Boyd*, Son to *Robert*, banished, and his Wife, the King's Sister, taken from him, and his Brother *Alexander Boyd* execute. As for their Father Lord *Robert* himself, he fled into *England*. And this is all the Fruit he reaps by his marrying for

His Marriage.
1468.

Of the first Archibald,

Court. He was by this our Calculation fourteen Years of Age at the most; and yet his Lady gets Sasine of *Abernethy*, upon his Resignation the same Year, the 1st of May. It is not unlikely, that one *William Douglas* of *Cluny* hath had some hand in the guiding of his Minority, for we find that the Wardship of the Lands of *Tantallon* and Earldom of *Douglas* was given to him; and he having again resigned it into the King's Hands, the King makes a new Disposition thereof to *Archibald*, *non obstante non-estate ejusdem*, notwithstanding his Nonage, which was then sixteen Years, the 26th of June 1470. Six Years after he hath Care of his Sisters Contracts by himself with *Fintry* for one of them; and three Years after that he takes upon him the Burden for his Mother, and hath her bound for his Relief, in 1479, as hath been said, in his Father's Life, being then about twenty five Years of Age. This Dutifulness towards his Sisters deserves that he should be blessed with Children of his own, and that he should have good Success in his Affairs who begins so well.

His Children, four Sons.

Glenbervy's Original.

AND so it was with him: For he had by his Wife four Sons; and three Daughters, all honourably provided. His Sons were; first, *George*, commonly called *Master of Angus*, because he came never to be Earl, being slain at *Flowdon* before his Father died. The second, Sir *William* of *Glenbervy*, who married *Elizabeth Auchinleck* Heiress of *Glenbervy*. The third, *Gavin* who was Bishop of *Dunkeld*, a Man of singular Wisdom and Prudence, and well lettered according to the Times. This *Gavin* had a base Daughter, of whom the House of *Foulwood* (*Semple*) is descended. We shall have occasion to speak something of him in the Life of *Archibald* his Brother's Son, in whose Time he lived. The Duke of *Albany* be-

being Governor, having conceived some Jealousy against the Earl of *Angus* and the *Douglases*; whereupon *Angus* was sent to *France*, and his Uncle this Bishop was sent for to *Rome*, by Letters from the Pope, at the Governor's procuring, to answer to such Accusations as were given in against him. As he was going thither, he was seized of the Plague at *London*, in the Year 1522, and died there; leaving behind him great Approbation of his Virtues, and Love of his Person, in the Hearts of all good Men: For besides the Nobility of his Birth, the Dignity and Comeliness of his Personage, he was learned, temperate, and of singular Moderation; and in these so turbulent Times, had always carried himself amongst all the Factions of the Nobility equally, and with a Mind to make Peace, and not to stir up Parties: Which Qualities were very rare in a Clergyman of those Days. He wrote in his native Tongue divers Things; but his chiefest Work is the Translation of *Virgil*, yet extant in Verse, in which he ties himself as strictly as is possible, and yet it is so well expressed, that whosoever shall essay to do the like, will find it a hard Piece of Work to go through with it. In his Prologues before every Book, where he hath his Liberty, he sheweth a natural Vein of Poesy, so pure, pleasant and judicious, that I believe there is none that hath written before or since, but cometh short of him. And in my Opinion, there is not such a Piece to be found, as is his Prologue to the 8th Book, beginning *Of Dreams and of Drivelings*, &c. at least in our Language. The fourth Son was *Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy*, who married a Daughter of one *Little* in *Edinburgh*: He had by her *Archibald of Kilspindy*, who was Provost of *Edinburgh* in King *James V.*'s Minority, and was married to the Earl of *Craw-*

Kilspindy's
Original.

Of the first Archibald,

ford's Daughter, by whom he had first *Patrick*, secondly *Alexander*, and thirdly *James*. *Patrick* was married to one *Murray*, a Daughter of the House of *Balbaird*, by whom he had *William*. After that he married *Agnes* Daughter to the Lord *Gray*, and had by her two Sons and two Daughters. And thus much of his Sons.

Three
Daughters.

His Daughters were, first, *Marjory*, married to *Cuthbert* Lord *Kilmaers* in the Year 1491: Her Portion was 1700 Merks. Secondly, *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Lyle* Lord Chief Justice: Her Portion was 1000 Merks, whereof 100 Pounds was to be paid at the first Term, and then 50 Pounds termly till all were paid. It is with Dispensation, which is a Sign that they have been in Kin before the Year 1493. Thirdly, *Janet*, whom we find contracted to *Robert* Lord *Harris*, November 22d 1495, to be married, and that he shall divorce from the Wife he had, so soon as can be, that she in the mean time shall not marry elsewhere: For which Cause she is infest in his Lands of *Tarriglas*, with the King's Confirmation past thereupon, the same Year and Day. Her Portion is, that the said Earl, then Chancellor, shall procure his Lands to be new holden of the King. This Fact, for a Man to contract to part with the Wife he hath, and marry another, as it is harsh to conceive, so being done so solemnly by such Persons, we must suppose it had sufficient and honest Grounds: For certainly the Earl of *Angus*, being withal Chancellor for the time, needed not to hunt after unlawful or unseemly Marriages for his Daughters. Some reckon a fourth Daughter, whom they name not, but say she was eldest, and married to the Earl of *Montrose*, this Earl's Great Grandfather's Father; but because I have not

not seen any Monument of her, I reserved her to the last place.

HE had also sundry Bastard Sons after his Wife's Death. First, *William* of the *Parkhead*, of whom the House of *Parkhead* is come, and the Lord of *Torthorrel* by his Mother. Secondly, *James* of *Todholes*. And thirdly, one that (they say) was gotten in *Glenbervy*, born after his Decease. But this seems to be false, because they affirm commonly, that after the Field of *Flowdon*, where his Son *George* was slain, he went into *Galloway* to *St. Maines*, and lived the Space of a Year an austere Life. Then he was not thus incontinent, if that be true. Neither came he to *Glenbervy*, seeing he lived in *Galloway*. He had also a base Daughter. And thus much of his Children.

To come to himself. We have heard how his Father Earl *George* raised the House of *Angus* to such Greatness of Credit and Authority, that it was become not much inferior to the House of *Douglas*, to which it had succeeded. *Archibald* his Son did no way diminish it. But when he came to be of Years fit for managing Affairs, he so behaved himself, and gained so good Opinion of his Wisdom and Courage, that the whole Burden of the Estate of the Country did ly upon him alone. And for that Cause chiefly he is commonly designed by the Epithet of *The Great Earl of Angus*. For as touching his Lands and Rents, we find no great Augmentation of them, save that he provided his Children well. If we consider the Means, it hath been his own Worth that hath brought him to it: For he began indeed his Marriage with Court, as a fit Mean whereby to rise; but that lasted but short while, as we have heard: The Court changing, it was rather a Mean to have wrought him Discredit. Notwithstanding which, and though he was young

Of the first Archibald,

himself, we find nothing, but that his Business went right. He got his own Wardship, even when his Alliance were at the hardest Pinch, that same very Year that *Thomas Boyd* had his Wife taken from him, and married to another. His Success in the Marriage of his Sisters doth also show the same: Neither do we hear of any hard Effect that their discourting did produce towards him.

He takes order with
Cochran &
the Courtiers,

I t was he that was the chief Actor in taking Order with *Robert Cochran*, and the other Courtiers, that did abuse the King and Country. He propounds the Matter to the Nobility; he opens up the State of Things; he puts Hand to Work, and executes what was concluded; the rest consent and follow; he goeth before in every Thing: And even then, when he did all this, he was of no great Age, not above five and twenty; and yet his Credit, Power and Authority, was able to go through with it. The History is written at length in our Chronicle; we need do no more but transcribe it: Neither is it necessary that we do that to the full, it will suffice to set down only what is requisite for laying open the Occasion and Circumstances for clearing the Fact, that the Reader may the better discern the Right from the Wrong, which otherwise ly confused; thus it was, King *James III.* of that Name, a Man of a great and high Spirit, and of a hasty Nature, and prone to Anger, and such a one as would not suffer patiently his own Judgment to be contradicted; could not away with that Freedom of Speech which he found in his Nobility; wherefore he made choice of such to be about him, as would not correct but approve all his Sayings, and who would not offend him by Gainsaying, but did curry Favour by soothing of him, and who, with flattering Admiration did extoll all that he said or did. Wherefore

fore, excluding the Nobility, he was wholly at the Devotion of a few of his Servants, with whom he advised, and consulted of all Business, and either followed their Opinions, or made them to consent and execute his Will. Thus he began to do about the Year 1474, having, after his Marriage, in the Year 1470, addicted himself for most Part to his domestick and private Pleasures, seldom coming abroad, or minding the Affairs of his Kingdom. He had gotten about him base Men both in Place and worth, whom he had advanced to Honours and nobilitated. Amongst these there was one *Robert Cochran* a Mason to his Trade, whom he made Earl of *Mar*, an *English* singing Man called *William Rogers*, whom he honoured with Knighthood, with divers others of mean Rank and Quality, whose chief Commendation was that they were impudently wicked and villanous. This *Rogers* is thought also to have been his Pander, and an Enticer of him to Lewdness and wronging his Queen. Amongst these base Men, there was one Gentleman of good Birth; but he seeing the King's Inclination, had set himself fully to follow it in all things; wherefore he had given his Daughter to *Robert Cochran* in Marriage, as a Bond of Friendship, his Name was *Thomas Preston*. There was also a young Page, *John Ramsay*, who was of the same Combination. These were the King's Minions and Counsellors. On these he reposed, and cast the Burden of Affairs. Their Hopes were built upon the Ruin of the Nobility, that by their Fall they themselves might rise. These were Counsellors and Executioners of the Murder of his younger Brother *John*; and had caused him to commit his other Brother *Alexander* to Prison in the Castle, who had died likewise, if he had not found Means to escape in the Night, by

Of the first Archibald,

making a Rope of his Bed-clothes, and so got over the Wall. To these great Evils there were joined worse things: He had given himself to seek Responses, and Predictions of things to come, chiefly concerning his own Estate, of Magicians and Witches. He had for that Purpose brought one out of *Flanders*, that was thought very skilful in divining, named *Andrew* a Physician and Astrologer by Profession. This Man had given the King's Ambassadors some Proof of his Cunning, when they went through *Flanders* to the Duke of *Burgundy*. He hearing whether they were going, told them they needed not to make any great haste, for they should hear News of the Duke ere it were long. And so they did indeed, for within three Days they heard that he was slain. When they came home, they related this to the King, extoll his Skill, and inflame his Mind, which was too prone of itself, with desire to hear him. So he was sent for, and being come, was presented with many rich Gifts. And good Reason he should, if he could withall have instructed the King how to avoid the Evils that were to come. But merely to fortell Evil which could not be shunned, it was too dear bought Evil Tidings; yet that is all he doth, tells him that his own should be his Ruin. The King interprets it of his Brethren, his Kinsmen, and his Subjects, especially the chief of the Nobility. Whereupon being suspicious and jealous of all others, he trusted none but his fore-said Minions. By these Doings he makes way for the Fates; by slaying or warding his Brother he irritates the Nobility, he suspecting them, and being suspected of them by a mutual Fear; they, to secure themselves, put Hand into the Courtiers who were the Authors of these Evils; he interprets that to be Rebellion against himself, and seeks how to be revenged; they

they, for their Safety, are driven from Point to Point, constrained by Necessity, for the Preservation of their Lives, to cast off all Respect, and take Arms openly, draw his Son to the Party, his own nearest according to the Responses, whereon ensues his Ruin. This is the Effect of consulting Magicians and Soothsayers, whereof we seldom hear a better End. And it is but deservedly, that those that leave the Author and Fountain of all Good, who guides all by his Providence, to follow Follies and Superstition, and the Author of all Evil and Wickedness, should be thus served. This is the Effect of Pride and Arrogancy, that leans only to its own Judgment, and will not give Way and Liberty to admonish and inform rightly. Upon which other Inconveniencies do follow by Degrees: First, withdrawing the Ear from faithful Counsellors, then giving themselves to Flatterers, then entertaining of these, and rejecting and casting off others, whereof ariseth Suspicions, Jealousies, Wrongs, Injustice, from hence shedding of Blood under Colour of Law, or without Colour in open Tyranny, as no Man at first becomes extreemly wicked: At last follows the Ruin of the Authors, together with the Ruin of others. To return to our Point, it came so about here. The War began betwixt Scotland and England; an Army behoved to be raised; and for the raising thereof, the Nobility must be convened. Loath were those new Men to the Work, they knew not what they might think when they were convened. But there was no Remedy, their privy counselling could not sustain the Wars; that was the Part of the Noblemen, and could not be done without them. So they The King are convened; the Army raised marches to- with his Ar- wards the Borders, on to Lawder they go. It my at Law- is a Town in the Confines of Merse and Te- der.

viordale, which Countries were both wasted by the Incursions of the Enemy. Nothing will make Men wise where there is Ruin determined. The Place, the Time, the Enemy, the Necessity to use the Nobility, could not serve to admonish the King and his Courtiers to give them some small Countenance and Contentment; whom they were constrained to employ, they would not endeavour to please. On they go with their wonted Course. The King only countenances, consults and advises with his Cabin-council, neglects the Nobility, and distrusts them. It had been strange if they had not resented; and as strange if they had not remedied it. Now was the Time or never. The Force, Power, and all was in their own Hands. They disdain it, they regrave it in private one to another; they agree in the general that some Order must be taken with these Disorders. They appoint a Meeting for advising of the Form and particular Manner how and what to do. The Place, *Lawder Kirk*, the Time, next Morning betimes, Thither they come at the time prefixt. Here the Earl of *Angus*, first in Place and Rank, first in Credit, is also first in Speech, and is said first thus to have opened up the Matter unto them. ‘ My
‘ honourable Lords, I hold it not needful to
‘ go about with many Words to set before you
‘ the State of this Kingdom: For some things
‘ you your selves remember, some you see be-
‘ fore your Eyes. Our chief Noblemen are
‘ thrust into Exile, and forced either to suffer
‘ intolerably, or do unjustly. And you who are
‘ the Arms and Limbs of this Kingdom, are
‘ left without a Head, as a Ship without a Pi-
‘ lot and Master, exposed to the Storms and
‘ Tempests of Fortune. Our Fields are burnt,
‘ our Goods carried away, the Labourers killed,
‘ or, seeing no other Remedy of their manifold
‘ Mi-

The Nobility meet in the Church.

Angus makes this Speech.

Miseries, have yielded themselves to the Enemy: His Majesty in the mean time, a Man indeed if he were himself, of a generous Mind, and rare Understanding, bewitched in his Affection, asketh no Advice or Counsel of his Nobility, but consulteth of Peace and War, of the Good of the Country, and Safety of all, with a few base, vile and ignorant Fellows, who by relating the Predictions of Sorcerers and Magicians, fill his sick Mind with vain Fear and Superstition. And these Men determine and set down Decrees of our Lives and Estates, who knowing that they merit the Hatred of all Men, do therefore hate all Men. Neither do they seek only to lessen your Authority, but to strike off your Heads by one Plot or other. Some of you they have already made away by Death, others by Banishment. Neither do they, as commonly new Rulers do, climb up to the highest Places by Degrees, but they make the Carcasses of the King's Sons Steps for them to mount upon, and water their growing Honours with the Blood Royal itself. One of his Brothers they have most cruelly murdered, the other they have constrained for Fear to forsake his Country, and become a Captain in the Enemy's Camp. And now being rid of them, they ly in wait for the rest; for being conscious of their own Baseness, they cannot endure any that is excellent or eminent. Whoso hath Riches to satisfy their Avarice, or Power to resist their bold Attempts, him they reckon for their Enemy. And do we prepare ourselves to withstand the common Enemy, and encamp against *England*, as if any were more deadly and more to be feared, than he whose Greediness our Goods cannot suffice, and whose Thirst of Slaughter our Blood is not able

• able to quench? Now that you may know
 • how much this inward Plague is worse than
 • that outward Foe, put the Case that *England*
 • (which God forbid) should overcome, what
 • could we look for at their Hands? What
 • would they make the End of their Hatred,
 • or Reward of their Victory? The Death of
 • the King, do you think, or of yourselves?
 • Verily I believe neither. Our Contentions
 • have not been for Lives, but for Honour
 • and Empire. And a noble Heart, as it is
 • vehement and violent against those that op-
 • pose, so is it easily mitigated by Prayer and
 • Entreaty; and even with the Consideration
 • of the Instability of human Affairs, it is
 • moved to Pity and Compassion. But let us
 • suppose the worst, that they being mindful
 • of our old Debates, and puffed up with pre-
 • sent Victory, would take the King's Life,
 • which of these two doth deal more easily
 • with us? He that by depriving us of Life,
 • doth also take away all Sense of Evil, or he
 • that reserveth that to daily Tortures and Tor-
 • ments, which, next after our God, should be
 • most dear to us? who besotting the Mind
 • with Witchcraft, do animate the King to the
 • Destruction of his nearest Kindred, who de-
 • tain him like a Captive, and will not suffer
 • him at any time to show his Face to his Loy-
 • al Subjects, that they may enjoy the Com-
 • fort of his Countenance, and he behold their
 • Service for his Honour and Safety. They
 • are not so much to be reputed Enemies, who
 • with displayed Banner profess Hostility, as
 • they who within the Walls ly in Ambush for
 • your Overthrow, who drawing away his Ma-
 • jesty's Affection from his Friends, betray
 • him to his Enemies, and making you desti-
 • tute of a Leader, would expose you to the
 • Mercy of your Enemies, into whose Hands
 • if

if you do fall, though perhaps if you escape Death, yet shall you not eschew Shame and Ignominy, and which is worse than a thousand Deaths, Servitude and Bondage. If you get the Day and be victorious, you shall not for all that, acquire that which is the End and Fruit of Victory, Honour and Renown to your King, Rest and Quietness to yourselves, and to your Posterity, a flourishing and prosperous State of your Country, but on the contrary, a greater Liberty to your Adversaries for the present, and greater Security for the Time to come, Ruin and Destruction to yourselves, and to your King a worse Slavery; so that by vanquishing, you shall not be so much freed from Troubles Abroad, as you shall increase your Miseries at home. Wherefore my Opinion is, to speak it in a Word, that first we shake off this Yoke of Servitude at home, before we enter into Fight with the foreign Enemy; otherwise all of us shall be Slaves to the Will and Pleasure of a few: We shall strengthen our Enemies, and become Traitors to the Commonwealth. What you shall resolve to do, I pray God to prosper. When the Earl had ended

his Speech, there arose a confused Murmur throughout the whole Assembly; for they had not the Patience to give their Votes in order; but all cried out together, testifying their Approbation and Assent to his Speech and Opinion. Amongst others there present the Lord Gray was one, whom some would have to be he that slew the Earl of Douglas at Stirling, commonly called Cow-Gray. But if it were he, he behoved to be of great Age now, and of greater at the Battle of Bannockburn, where he is also said to have been; wherefore I take it rather that this hath been his Son. However, the Lord Gray heard all, and seeing their

The Lord
Gray's
Speech,

For

Of the first Archibald,

Forwardness, craved Audience, and told them the Apologue of the Mice, who consulting in a publick Meeting, how to be sure from the Cats surprizing of them, found out a very good Way, which was to hang a Bell about her Neck, that would ring as she stepped, and so give them Warning of her Approach, that they might save themselves by Flight. But when it came to be questioned who would undertake to tye the Bell about the Car's Neck, there was never a Mouse durst cheep or undertake it. The Earl of *Angus* understood his Meaning, and what Application was to be made of it it; wherefore he answered shortly, *I will bell the Car*, and what your Lordships conclude to be done, shall not lack Execution. For this Answer, he was always after this named *Archibald Bell the Car*. And so they concluded that these wicked Counsellors, and their Accomplices the Courtiers of the same Quality and Stamp should be brought to Judgment, and punished according to their Deserts. In the Execution whereof, their main Care was, that no Inconvenience should come to the King; which, because it might fall out in a Tumult, they ordained that the Army should ly quiet, and only the Noblemen with their Household Servants should go to Court, and apprehend them as peaceably and calmly as possibly they could. After the Meeting was broken up, as they were going along, they encountred by the Way with *Robert Cochran*, whom the King, informed of their Meeting, had sent to know what the Matter was; for it seemed to be some Business of Moment and great Importance that had moved such Men to convene at such an Hour, so early in the Morning. He had about his Neck a Gold Chain of great Weight, which the Earl of *Angus* took hold of, and straining it a little, *This Chain*, said he, *doth not become*

Angus called Bell the Car.

And sixth Earl of Angus.

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a Man of your Rank, but I shall ere long give you one that will become you to wear far better; and so pulling the Chain from his Neck, he delivered him to one of his Men to be kept sure. After that he went on to the King's Lodging, where the Guard and others that were present, astonished with the Suddenness of his coming, or reverencing the Dignity and Majesty of his Person, gave Place and shrunk away; so that the rest were easily apprehended without Resistance or Tumult; only *John Ramsay* fled to the King, and clasped his Arms about his Middle, and, at the King's Request, was pardoned in respect of his Youth, which excused his Errors, and seemed to promise for him, that he would do no more so. The rest were led forth and accused; 1. Of causing kill the King's Brother *John*. 2. Of inciting the King, and animating him against his other Brother *Alexander Duke of Albany*, so as to banish him. 3. Of sowing Dissention between the King and his Nobles. 4. Of drawing him to Superstition, Witchcraft and Magick, to the Offence of God, and Slander of Religion. 5. Of perswading him to coin a certain kind of Brass-coin of no Value, which the People called the Black-coin; which Fact of all other was most odious to the Vulgar: For hereupon had ensued great Dearth of Corns and Victual while as the Owners did choose rather to suffer their Grain to rot in their Garners, than under the Name of selling to give them to the Buyers; for so they thought it to be a Gift, and not a Sale. Their Accusations were no sooner read, but all cried out against them; and so they were condemned to be hanged over the Bridge of *Lawder*. That Sentence pronounced, was so acceptable to all that heard it, that they ran and brought their Horse-halters and Bridle-reins to serve for Ropes, and strive who

Cochran and his Fellows hanged.

Of the first Archibald,

who should have the Honour therein, the whole Army and Nobility concurring and assisting at their Execution. And thus they did remove those Men, whom the Good of the King, of the Nobility, and whole Country required necessarily to be removed from their Prince; yet it was done with as great Respect to himself as it could be in such a Case, where Matters were to proceed contrary to his Mind: They offer his Person no Violence; they do not misbehave themselves in Words; they are careful it be not done by any in a Tumult, and therefore come accompanied with the fewer Number. They grant his Desire when he did interceed for one of the Guilty, which shows how willing they would have been to have granted the rest also, if it could have been done safely. A very remarkable and rare Example of Carefulness of the Commonwealth, joined with all Modesty, Love and Dutifulness towards their King. Their Behaviour was just such as Lawyers prescribe in such Cases, who accounting the Person of the King sacred, and not to be touched any way, do allow that their wicked Counsellors and Abusers only be taken order with, where the Good of the Country enforceth it. Wherein the Earl of *Angus* being the principal Actor, the chief Commendation thereof cannot be taken from him; the Praise, I say, not only of Wisdom in propounding and perswading, of Courage and Resolution in undertaking, but also of discreet Moderation, and dutiful Regard to the King, in performing of this Action without Tumult or Up-roar. Happy had the King been, if he could have taken it up rightly; and, as he saw how far his wicked Abusers were hated, he had also read their Love and Regard of his Person, that appeared in every Act of this Tragick-comedy, written in fair and capital Letters. He
made

made Show, as if he had taken all in good Part, but it was not in Sincerity. He accounted it High Treason and Rebellion, and set his Mind wholly on Revenge. He saw what was done to his Courtiers, but he would not see the Respect carried to himself; for upon this Occasion the Army dissolving, so soon as he came to *Edinburgh*, and found himself at Liberty, he retired to the Castle with a few of his familiar Friends, as not daring to trust his Nobility; which when they perceived, they had their private Meetings and Consultations apart. Hereupon his Brother *Alexander* moves the King of *England* to send an Army with the Earl of *Glocester*, hoping to do somewhat for himself: And so he doth, for the Nobility sent for him, and made him chief Man of the Party, under the Name of Lieutenant General of *Scotland*. The King remained in the Castle, from whence he is brought out, and restored to his Place, his Brother endeavouring by Modesty to approve his Uprightness, and banish all Jealousies by his Actions. But all would not do; he continues his Jealousy, and the Effects of Jealousy, an evil Mind and Ill-will; intends to make him away, some say by Poison; whereof he being advertised, withdraws himself again into *England*; and that he might be the more welcome thither, he put the Castle of *Dunbar* into their Hands. Neither doth he bear any better Mind toward the Nobility, but still intends their Ruin, calling all their Proceedings and Actions rebellious. And after a short while, the Courtiers began to follow the Footsteps of those that had gone before them; and, nothing terrified with the Example of their End, began to tread the same Path that they had done; *John Ramsay*, who was pardoned at *Lawder*, procured an Edict from the King, That none but he and his Followers

The Army
dismissed,
the King
comes to E-
dinburgh.

lowers should go armed in those Places where the King's Court did converse. The King thought it was hard for him to deal with them all at once; therefore they must be divided. For this Effect he insinuates himself, and becomes very familiar with a Part of them, and advanceth them to Honours. He makes the Earl of *Crawford* Duke of *Montrose*, a great and powerful Man. But who was so fit for his Service as the Earl of *Angus*? he makes as if he were fully reconciled to him, hath him continually about him, countenanceth him every way, communicates with him his most secret Affairs; some say he made him Chancellor; but the Chancellor, *Andrew Stewart* Lord of *Evandale*, was then living, at the coming in of *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, neither hear we of his Death, neither do we find in the old Evidents, that the Earl of *Angus* is intituled Chancellor before 1493. which is after this King's Death, in King *James* IVth's Time, though we have Evidents in the Year 1488 and 1489. To him the King opens his Mind so far, as finding that the principal Nobility were in *Edinburgh*, the King sends for *Angus* to the Castle, tells him that now he hath a fair Occasion to be avenged of his Enemies, that he would cause seize and apprehend them; for if the Leaders and Chief of the Faction were once cut off, the rest would not dare to stir; that if he should neglect this Opportunity, he could hardly look for the like hereafter. Some say, that he purposed to have invited them to a Supper in the Castle, and so to have laid Hands on them, others say, that he meant to have caused take them in their Lodgings in the Night, which is not unlikely. The Earl of *Angus*, though he were no very old Cat, some 31 or 32, if that was 1486, as it should seem, yet was he too wary and circumspect to be drawn

drawn by a Straw. He knew himself to be as guilty as any of them, and as much hated for his Guilt. But he was now within the Castle and had need to carry himself wisely; to refuse might endanger his Life; to consent he could not, it was so gross and foul; wherefore he frames his Answer after such a Kind, as might be both safe for himself, and no ways prejudicial to the rest. He tells him what a Disgrace it would be for him, if, without Order of Law, he should, all of a sudden, bring so many Noblemen to the Scaffold without a Crime, to whom he was but lately reconciled, and had promised Remission of all that was past, especially at such a Time, when they trusted to the publick Assurance given them for their Security. Neither will those that remain, said he, be terrified and dismayed with the Death of these few, but be irritated and driven to Despair, and so to greater Violence. But if it will please your Majesty to follow my Advice, I shall tell you a better way to give you Satisfaction. Do but charge and summon any of them at any time to underly the Law, and I with my Friends and Followers shall bring them in by Force openly, and in fair Daylight, to what Place you please, where Execution may be done according to Law, which is not only more safe, but more honourable, than either to betray them under Colour of Friendship and feasting, or to invade them in the Night, as if they were set on by Thieves and Robbers. This being spoken with that Grace and Courage wherewith he used to accompany his Actions, the King acknowledging it was true that he said, and knowing he was able to perform what he promised, supposing he spake in Sincerity, gave him many Thanks, and having loaded him with as many Promises, dismissed him. Assoon as he was come to his Lodg-

Of the first Archibald,

Plot against
the King.

The King's
Son Head of
the Faction
of the
Nobles a-
gainst his
Father.

Lodging, he revealed all to the Noblemen, and withal went himself out of the Town. From that Time forth there was no more Peace. The King's Counsel being revealed, he distrusted all Men. The Nobility seeing his Resolution to ruin them, and that there was no Trust to be given to his Words, despairing of Concord; whereas they had before sought his Amendment, and not his Overthrow, retaining ever a Dutiful Love and Regard to his Person, now they set themselves, and lay all the Plots they can how to undo him: Yet can they not be alienated from the Race of their Kings. His Son had not offended, and fell to succeed: They affect him for their Captain. He is also most acceptable and agreeable to the People, and so fittest for them. Others might be suspected, envied or misinterpreted. Wherefore they allure him to their Party by his Keepers, and his Keepers perswade him by fear of being disinherited, and put beside his Succession to the Crown, And now the Parties are formed, the King and his own Son. There was divers Times Mention of Peace; but where all Trust was taken away, it could not be established. They send the King word flatly, they could not give Credit to his Promises: And so there was no Way to mediate a Peace, but by his Dimission of the Crown to his Son. That Condition was intollerable; he aggravates it to Foreign Princes, and to the Pope, shewing what an ill Precedent it was for all Princes. But before any Help can come from thence, the Lords make Haste to come to a Conclusion, which fell out according to their Desire. The King's Forces lay most Part beyond Forth, and in the Northern Parts; for convening of them, *Stirling* was the fittest Place. Thither he takes his Way with the Forces he had; the Nobility following as near as they could come to him;

him; yet was he gone before them, and might first have come to the Castle. But being excluded by the Keeper, he is constrained to hazard the Battle at *Bannockburn*. There, having overthrown the Vanguard of the Enemy, he was overthrown by the *Annandale* Men, and West-borderers that bare longer Spears than they that were on the King's Side. The King himself hurt with the Fall of his Horse, and wounded in the right Arm, fled unto a Water-mill that was near unto the Place, with Intention to have fled to his Ships. But he was perceived, and known by the Partisans of his Guard that stuck to him (which were trimmed with white Fringes or Fasses) and followed by *Patrick Lord Gray*, and *Stirling of Keir*, and a Priest named *Borthwick*. Which of these, or if all of them fell upon him, it is uncertain, The King but there he was slain by them. Fame lays it slain, most on the Lord *Gray*, who if it were *Cow-Gray*, it seems his Apprenticeship and his Practice in his old Age have been very suitable. For he it was that slew *William Earl of Douglas* at *Stirling* under this King's Father, 35 or 36 Years before this. He hath put a long time between his Essay, and his Master-piece, and gone too high in it. If it was his Son, he hath followed well his Father's Example, and gone beyond him also. All this while the Earl of *Angus's* Part was honourable and kindly; his Heart could not digest the Slaughter of his King. He sought his own Safety, and to shorten the Reins of his unbridled Mind; but for his Life, he neither sought it, nor could he suffer it to be taken, so far as he could hinder it. Wherefore, seeing the Victory to be on their Side, he cried oft to save the King, attesting all, for their Love to God, and for their Respect to the young Prince his Son, that they should do him no Harm. This was cast in his Teeth by the way

Battle at
Bannockburn.
1488.

Of the first Archibald,

way of Reproach, as Childishness, or too much Tenderness of Heart at such a Time, by the Lord *Gray*. There were slain on the King's side the Earl of *Glencairn* and a few of his Fellows. The Earl of *Angus* married his Daughter, three Years after, to *Robert Lord Kilmaers*, Son or rather Grandchild to this Earl of *Glencairn*. This happened in 1488, the twenty eighth of King *James's* Reign, and thirty fifth of his Age.

BUT the War did not end with the Death of the King; the old King's Faction was rather scattered than broken, chiefly his Navy and Sea Forces, of which the Captain, *Andrew Wood*, stood out obstinately. In the North the Lord *Forbes* had gotten the King's bloody Shirt, and carrying it upon a Spear's Point like an Ensign, through *Aberdeen* and other Towns, stirred up all he could to revenge the King's Slaughter. In the Western Parts of the Kingdom the Earl of *Lennox* assembled his Power, and divers more with him did send their Messengers to and fro, exhorting the People every where not to suffer so detestable a Murder unrevenge'd; forbidding them to fear at the shadow of the present King's Authority, whom these Parricides did detain a Captive, to countenance their Wickedness, he being rather a Prisoner than a Prince, the whole Power resting in the Hands of the *Douglases*, *Humes* and *Hepburns*: That even in that regard they would take Arms to free him from their Tyranny, who would make the World believe, that he being but a Child of fifteen Years of Age, was so unnatural as to allow of his Father's Murder. Beside all this, the *English* made some Trouble by Sea with five Ships, which lay in the Mouth of *Forth*, and not only infested the Merchants and such as did trade by Sea, but also many times came ashore and pillaged the Country.

Country. These were Prognosticks of a Storm arising, and of a Tempest as great as had been from the West, from the North, and from the Sea. But these dropping Clouds which threatened an After-clap, were quickly dispersed by the prudent handling of the other Party. *Andrew Wood* was intreated, and brought not only to be no Enemy, but also to set upon the *English* Ships, which he did with his own two only, and brought in the five *English* to *Leith*. *Lennox* was defeated by the Lord *Drummond*, whose Daughter *George* Master of *Angus* had married; and the Northern Men hearing of it, sat quiet, and stirred not. And for Conclusion, a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh* the 6th of *November*, where all that was done at *Ban-*
nockburn was decerned to be good Service, and that those that were slain there were slain through their own Default, and that those that had taken Arms against them were free from all Crime. This had been done before in the Parliament when the King was crowned; but there were so few present then, that they thought it necessary to renew it here, where both Parties were present. And so it was not only enacted, but subscribed by all that had Vote in Parliament. Thus did *Angus* with the rest of his Associates govern those Matters, which seemed to be very hard to settle, both wisely and moderately: For they used not their Victory and Power either cruelly or covetously. They forgave sincerely those that came in and yielded, and punished gently the more obstinate, fining them in their Goods, or taking from them some Portion or Parcel of their Lands and Possessions; but there was no Man ruined, or wholly undone by them: And so they both pacified things, and did not much displease the Parties, who bare it patiently when they called to remembrance for what small

Vol. II. C Faults,

Five *English* Ships taken by *Andrew Wood*.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh* 6th *November* 1488.

Faults, and upon what slight Pretences Men were turned out of their whole Estates in the late King's time. By these Means they procured a true and sincere Peace among the Subjects, strengthened with a general Love and Submission of both Parties to the King. And to confirm all, the two Principals of the other Party, *Lennox* and *Forbes* came in, and were received into Favour. Many attribute the Commendation of all this to the King himself, whose Inclination, it cannot be denied, was good; but to speak the Truth as it is, he was but young, and not a Guider, but guided, even by the Confession of the adverse Party. Neither could he of himself have carried things so wisely, for all his good Disposition; neither was he able to have done it, though he had been skilful, if there had not been great Moderation in those that were about him. Wherefore seeing both common Report, and our Histories also, make our *Douglases*, *Humes* and *Hepburns* the chief Authors and Actors in these Matters; I see no Reason why we should defraud them of their due Commendation of being Men that were dutiful to their Country, and withal very respectful to their King, having laboured all they could to reclaim him, and after he had shut himself up in the Castle, restoring him to his full Authority, and even when he was seeking their Lives, they did tolerate him a good while, being very loth to come to Extremity. And last, being forced to it by Necessity, for the Preservation of their own Lives, they had Regard to the Race of their Princes, yea to himself and his Life, in the greatest Heat of the Battle, ever willing and desirous to save him. And then after the Victory, we see how moderate they were against their Detractors, Slanderers, and profest Enemies, that had taken Arms against them; how

how meek in bearing with them; how careful too, with Calmness, to reconcile them; how gentle in using of them; how wise and prudent in the whole Progress of Pacification. And above all, the Moderation of their Desires is to be remarked: for they did neither increase their Estates, nor enrich themselves one whit, by spoiling or violent seizing of any Man's Lands or Goods. The Earl of *Angus* was made Chancellor: But that was after the Death of the Lord *Evandale*, and so it was not taken from any other Man; neither was there any wrong in it. And on whom could it have been so well bestowed? Who was so fit for it? And who so worthy of it? Besides, it seems that he got it not in the King's Minority, when he had all Power in his own Hand, under the shadow of the King's Name, and so might have extorted it from the King in those troublesome Times, for he is never termed *Chancellor* until the Year 1493, which was five Years after *Bannockburn*, and then all the Troubles were quieted and pacified, and the King came to be twenty Years of Age, able to guide his Affairs by himself. The Lord *Hume* is also made Great Chamberlain of *Scotland*, yet that was also in the King's Power to give, and belonged to no Man. What other Casualty or Benefit they acquired by the King's Liberality, we find not, unless it were the Guardianship of the Inheriress of *Glenbervy*, which *Angus* got, whom he married to his Son *William*. But suppose they did get any such thing, yet was it without Injury to any Man, and unrepoveably. Wherefore we may say justly, that no Prince's Minority was ever so moderately and innocently, so justly, wisely and prudently guided amongst so great Troubles and Grounds of Dissention. This made them that they feared no Man, having offended no

Angus
Chancellor.

Lord *Hume*
Chamberlain.

Of the first Archibald;

Man, but were even secure in the King's Presence, notwithstanding that he had enjoined himself a Pennance, for being accessory to his Father's Death, which was the wearing of a Chain of Iron about his Middle instead of a Girdle; to which he added every Year a new Link or Ring. Not the less of all this, they were never afraid of the King, nor jealous of him, but interpreted this well, and took it in good part; not only because they trusted to the King's gentle Disposition, or because they confided in their own Forces, as being of the stronger Faction; but also because they reposed on the Conscience of their Fact, the Necessity of doing what they had done, and Innocency every other way towards every Man.

FROM this Time the Earl of *Angus* continued Chancellor, so named in all Writs and Indentures, until the 14th of *January* 1496, at which Time he contracts his Daughters to the Lord *Harris* and the Lord *Lyle*. He indents with *Hugh Douglas* Dean of *Brichen*, and Son to the late Earl of *Ormond*, in two several Indentures, whereof the Condition of the one is to pursue for the Lands of *Evandale* in the 1493. The other, the 14th of *January* 1496, is to this purpose: That the said *Hugh* shall pursue for *Glenwhome*, *Gladstones*, and any other Lands pertaining to the Earls of *Douglas*, Lord of *Evandale*, or his Father the Earl of *Ormond*; and that having obtained them, he shall resign them in favour of the Earl of *Angus*. Other Things remarkable we have none, until about the Time of the Field of *Flowdon*, which makes it seem to be probable, as some alledge, that all this Time he was confined in *Arran*. The pretended Cause (as they say) was secret Intelligence with King *Henry* of *England*; but the true Cause (they say) was his taking *Jean Kennedy*, Daughter
to

to the Earl of *Cassils*, out of *Galloway*, to whom the King bare Affection, and to whom the Earl gave Infeftment and Safine of the Lands of *Bothwell*, although he never married her. As touching the pretended Cause, it hath no Appearance at all, seeing there was always Peace and Friendship betwixt us and both the *Henries* (VII. and VIII.) until the War was denounced, or a very short Time before. And concerning that of *Jean Kennedy*, we have a Note of an Indenture betwixt *Angus* Chancellor and the Lord *Kennedy*, but they have neglected to set down about what it hath been in the Year 1496 : So that we are uncertain what to think of it. And contrary to this, we find that the Lands of *Bothwell* were not in the Earl's Hands, but in his Son *George's*, who got them from the Lord *Bothwell* in Exchange for the Lordship of *Liddisdale*, which for that Cause he resigned into the King's Hands in favours of the Earl *Bothwell*, in the Year 1492 : So that the Earl could not give her the Land's that belonged to his Son. Further, our Histories tell us, that when *James* Earl of *Arran*, who was sent with the Navy which the King had prepared for a Present to *Queen Anne* of *France*, had turned in upon *Ireland*, and having burnt *Knockfergus*, was come to *Air*, a Sea-port in *Kyle* : The King offended with his Folly, gave the Charge of the Ships to *Angus* for prosecuting of the Voyage ; but *Arran* having heard of it, hoised Sail, and was gone before *Angus* could come to the Place where the Ships lay. Now although it should seem by this, that the King continued his Favour towards him, yet there are some apparent Reasons to move us to think that it hath been somewhat diminished : For *Alexander* Lord *Hume* was made Warden of all the three Marches, and that before *Flowdon*, of which

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Of the first Archibald,

the East and Middle March, at least, had continued under the Government of the Earls of *Angus* for the Space of three or four Generations, descending from Father to Son by Succession, from Earl *William*, in the Persons of *James* and *George*, to this present *Archibald*.

War with
England, and
the Occasion
of the Field
of *Flowden*.

OTHER Mention or Monument of him we have none, till the Wars betwixt King *James* IV. and *Henry* VIII. of *England*. It is reported by some, that the Queen and he did what they could to dissuade the King from that War; but when he could not prevail with him, he followed him into *England*. There the King having wasted *Northumberland*, and taken *Northam*, with some few other Castles, got a View of the Wife of one *Herron* of the *Ford*, and did so fancy her, that he neglected the prosecuting of the War, and Care of his Army, and did nothing but dally with her. Whilst the Army lay there idle, the *English* sent a Herald to the King, desiring that he would appoint a Day for Battle; but the greatest part of the Nobility did dislike it. And the Earl of *Angus*, though he saw all this, and many more Errors, yet he held his Peace all this while: Whereas the rest of the Nobility reasoned with the King, but in vain; for the King told them flatly, he would fight them though they were a hundred thousand more, and that he would not retire. Then, and not till then, the Earl of *Angus* hearing his Answer, and knowing the Danger of such Resolution, being the chief Man amongst them both for Years and Authority, he went about to set before the King the Reasons of the Counsel given him, hoping by that means to break him of his Determination, in these Words: "Sir, said he, your Majesty hath done abundantly to satisfy your Friendship with the King of *France*, in that you have made the King of *England* withdraw the greater part

Angus's
Speech to
the King to
dissuade
him from
fighting.

“ part of his Army out of *France*, and have
 “ turned the Danger of the War from him
 “ without endangering yourself: For they can-
 “ not keep the Fields long in a Country that
 “ is so cold and wasted, especially now when
 “ the Winter is so near. Neither need your
 “ Majesty to wonder that the *French* Ambas-
 “ sador is so instant with us to fight; he be-
 “ ing a Stranger, it is no strange thing to see
 “ him prodigal of other Mens Blood, who doth
 “ not regard the Good of the Parties, but the
 “ Benefit that will thereby redound to *France*.
 “ Besides, his Request is altogether impudent
 “ and shameless; for he requires us to do that
 “ which his Master, a Man of great Under-
 “ standing, thinks not fit to do for his own
 “ Kingdom. Neither should the Loss of this
 “ Army seem small, because our Number is
 “ few; for all that are of Worth, and excel
 “ either in Wisdom or Valour in *Scotland*, are
 “ here, and these being slain, the vulgar will
 “ become a Prey to the Enemy: Therefore,
 “ as it is safest for the present to prolong the
 “ War, so is it most profitable in general.
 “ For if *Lewis* would have either the *English*
 “ exhausted with Charges, or wearied with De-
 “ lay, what is more convenient than to com-
 “ pel him to divide his Forces, by keeping
 “ one half thereof continually in readines a-
 “ gainst us, who ly in wait to invade his Coun-
 “ try upon every Occasion, so to ease the
 “ *French* of so much of their Burden? As for
 “ your Honour and Reputation, which Men
 “ pretend, what can be more honourable, than
 “ having razed so many Forts and Castles,
 “ wasted and spoiled their Country with Fire
 “ and Sword, to return laden with such store
 “ of Spoil, that they shall not be able to re-
 “ cover their Losses, nor their Soil redeem the
 “ former Beauty in many Years, though there-
 “ should

Of the first Archibald,

" should happen to be Peace? What greater
 " Commodity can we expect to reap of the
 " Wary, than in such a tumultuous Noise of
 " Arms to have Leisure to refresh our Soldiers
 " with Ease and Quietness, to our Credit, and
 " to our Enemies Shame? Of all the Victories
 " that are acquired, that which is obtained
 " more by Counsel than Force of Arms, is
 " most properly the Victory of Man, and the
 " Praise of it doth only redound to the Com-
 " mander and General; for in it the Army can
 " claim no Part or Interest." When the Earl
 had ended his Speech, all that were present
 shewed by their Countenance, that they did
 approve and assent unto his Counsel. But the
 King, who had solemnly sworn to give Battle,
 heard him unwillingly, and answered angrily;
 bidding him, if he were afraid, go home. Then
Angus seeing the King obstinate, and foresee-
 ing in his Mind what would be the Event of
 such Headiness, burst forth in Tears, and after
 a while, having gathered his Spirits again, when
 he was able to speak; " If my former Life,
 " *said he*, doth not free me from the Imputa-
 " tion of Fearfulness, I know not by what o-
 " ther Evidence I can clear myself. While this
 " Body of mine was able to endure Labour
 " and Toil, I spared it not, for the Defence
 " of our Country, and Honour of our Kings:
 " Now, seeing my Counsel, by which only I
 " am able to do Good, can have no place, I
 " leave here my two Sons, who next after
 " my Country are dearest to me, together with
 " the rest of my Friends and Kinsmen; the
 " surest Pledge that I can give of my Affection
 " to your Majesty, and to the rest that are here
 " present. And I pray God that this my Fear
 " may prove frivolous, and that I be rather e-
 " steemed a false Prophet, than that those things
 " happen which I think I see before mine Eyes."

And

And so he took his Leave, and departed, leaving behind him with the King his eldest Son George, and Sir William of Glenbervy, whom he exhorted to carry themselves valiantly, as those of the Family they were come of had ever done; and, recommending them to God and their good Fortune, he rode home. As the Earl of Angus presaged, so it fell out: For the Battle was fought at Flowdon, where the Day of Flowdon, was lost, and the King slain, yet his Body could never be found, which had been easily discerned by the Chain of Iron which he wore for a Girdle. There were also slain at this Battle George Master of Angus, and Sir William of Glenbervy, with some 200 Gentlemen of the Name of Douglas. The Field of Flowdon, Sept. 15th 1513.

THEIR Father the Earl went to St. Mains in Galloway. He lived there a Year after, an austere and hard Life, where he died also, and was buried in the Church of St. Mains: About the Year 1514, his Heart was carried to Douglas. His Age was 61 or 62; by all the Conjecture that can be made: So that it hath not been so much for his Years, as for some other Infirmary, that his Body hath not been able and fit for Service, as he says himself at Flowdon. Angus's Death, 1514.

HE was a Man every way accomplished both for Mind and Body. He was of Stature tall, and strong made; his Countenance was full of Majesty, and such as bred Reverence in the Beholders; wise and eloquent of Speech; upright and square in his Actions, sober and moderate in his Desires; valiant and courageous; a Man of Action and Undertaking, liberal also, loving and kind to his Friends; which made him to be beloved, revered and respected of all Men. He gave Proof of his personal Valour in a Duel, which is reported to have been thus. The King on a Time was discoursing at Table of the Personages of Men; A Duel betwixt Angus and Spina.

Of the first Archibald,

and by all Men's Confession the Prerogative was adjudged to the Earl of *Angus*; a Courtier that was by, one *Spence* of *Kilspindy*, whether out of Envy to hear him so praised, or of his idle Humour only, cast in a Word of doubting and disparaging; *It is true*, said he, *if all be good that is up-come*, meaning if his Action and Valour were answerable to his Personage and Body. This spoken openly, and coming to the Earl's Ears in the worst Interpretation, offended him highly. It fell out after this, as the Earl was riding from *Douglas* to *Tantallon*, that he sent all his Company the nearest way, and he himself with one only of his Servants, having each of them a Hawk on his Fist in hope of better Sport, took the Way by *Borthwick* towards *Fala*; where alighting at the Brook at the West End of the Town, they bathed their Hawks. In the mean time this *Spence* happened to come that Way, whom the Earl espying, said to his Man, is not this such an one that made Question of my Manhood; I will go to him and give him a Trial of it, that we may know which of us is the better Man. No, my Lord, said his Servant, it is a Disparagement for your Lordship to meddle with him, I shall do that sufficiently, if it will please your Honour to give me leave. I see, said the Earl, he hath one with him, it shall be thy part to grapple with him, whilst I deal with his Master. So fastning their Hawks, that they might not fly away in the mean time, they rode after him, and having overtaken him, What Reason had you, said the Earl to him, to speak so contemptuously of me at such a Time, doubting whether my Valour were answerable to my Personage? When the other would have excused the Matter, he told him, that would not serve the Turn; thou art a big Fellow, and so am I, one of us must pay for it,

it, The other answered, If it may be no better, there is never an Earl in Scotland, but I will defend my self from him as well as I can, and will rather kill him, if I can, than suffer him to kill me. So alighting from their Horses, they fought a certain Space, but at last the Earl of Angus, with a Stroke cut Spence's Thigh bone assunder, so that he fell to the Ground, and died soon after. The two Serving-men were very hard at it still, when the Earl came and staid them, saying to Spence's Man, Go thy way, tell my Gossip the King, there was nothing here but fair Play: I know my Gossip will be offended; but I will get me into Liddisdale, and remain in the Hermitage till his Anger be over. And so it is thought he did: Whereupon the King, when he was pacified, caused the Earl to exchange his Lordship of Liddisdale with the Lands of Bothwell, alledging that there was no Order to be had of the Earls of Angus, so long as they kept Liddisdale: What other Reasons the Earl had to move him to this Excambion, I know not, nor why he should have preferred Bothwell; but it is certain his Son George exchanged them with his Consent. One Fault he had, that he was too much given to Women, otherwise there was little or nothing that was amiss.

Archibaldus Angusia primus.

Palponum dum turba ferox illudere regi:

*Non timet; idque palam plebsque patresque
fremunt;*

Amissum decus imperii: vilescere sceptrum;

Omnia turbari tum foris atque domi:

Gochronum exstincti (caput horum & dux nebulonum:

Is fuit, & laqueo colla scelesti dedit:

Talibus infestus quod sim Gnathonibus, atro

Of George Master of Angus.

*Dente petit, famam rodit & aula meam.
Fax hominum, procerum pestis, Regumque ruina;
Quo magis oblatras, hoc magis illa nitet.*

Archibald of Angus, the first of that Name.

Whilst bloody Flatterers did not fear
T'abuse their Prince's Name and Ear:
Whilst Great and Mean, and all repine;
Whilst the King's Honour doth decline,
His Rule too much despis'd by all,
And State Affairs to Ruin fall:
Cochran their Head was hang'd by me,
And for I punish't such as he,
They do attempt my Name to stain
With Slanders: But these Dregs of Men,
The Pest of Courts, the Shame of Kings,
Their greatest Hate most Honour brings.

Of George Master of Angus, and Son to Archibald the first.

HIS eldest Son, as hath been said, was George slain at Flowdon, designed commonly by the Appellation of Master of Angus.

He was married to Elizabeth Drummond, Daughter to the Lord Drummond of whom we told how he defeated the Earl of Lennox. His Children by her were three Sons; first, Archibald, afterwards Earl of Angus; 2dly, Sir George of Pittendrich. 3dly, William Prior of Coldingham.

His Daughters were; 1st, the Lady Yester; 2dly, the Lady Bass; 3dly, Jean Lady Glames; 4thly, Alison married first to Robert Blackader of Blackader and afterwards to Sir David Hume of
of.

and Son to Archibald the first.

of Wedderburn; 5thly, the Lady Drumlanrig; as I take it. Also they mention a sixth, married to a Baron in the North, whom they name not, neither do I know, who he should be.

His Age at his Death, to reckon from the 13th Year of his Father's Age in the 1469, to the Year of his own Death at Flouidon, was not above 44.

His Actions, because he never came to be Earl, are not recorded. Some Dealing there was betwixt him as Governor of *Liddisdale*, and Lord *Dacres* in *England*, with whose Deputies he agrees to meet at *Drumfries*; for doing of Justice in the Year 1489, the Year after the King was killed at *Bannockburn*. So at *Cannobie* he met with the Lord *Dacres* himself, where they accorded not well: For they intended both to send to the Councils of both Nations to have their Determination of their Differences. He agrees the same Year with Sir *Robert Lundy* of *Balgony* Treasurer, for a general Remission to *Ewsdale*, *Eskdale* and *Nithisdale*, which I think should rather be *Liddisdale*, for a thousand Pounds, being at this Time not above twenty Years of Age, not out of Curatory by the Laws, though that was in his Father's Hands. Yet we see also Courts held in his Name, by his Bailiffs, as a Retour of *Adam Ker* to some Lands in *Selkirk*, in the said Year, which makes me to think he hath been then married. Also it is he, as we told above, that excambes the Lands of *Liddisdale*, for *Bothwell*, with *Patrick* Earl of *Bothwell*, resigning the Lands of *Liddisdale*, and the King disposing them upon the Resignation in the Year 1492; upon what Reason either the Earl *Bothwell* should have affected these, or he preferred the other, and not thought himself as fit to rule that unruly Country as any other, I have not heard. But it was done in his Father's

Of the second Archibald,

ther's Lifetime, who was no Fool, when he was in his greatest Vogue, the first three Years of King *James IV.* He allies afterwards with this same Earl *Bothwell*, marrying his Son *Archibald* to his Daughter, but that must be long after, except that he hath been married young, as some say he was.

In the Year 1510, he indents for the Marriage of his fourth Daughter *Alison* to *Robert Blackader's* Son, and apparent Heir to *Andrew Blackader* of that ilk. Her Portion 300 Merks; the Terms, 1. At completing the Marriage, 40 Pounds, and 20 Pounds at the Feast of *Martinmas* then next; and so 20 Pounds termly till it were paid. That same Year he is infest in *Abernethy*. And this is all we have of him, which we have set down chiefly for his Children, and the History that followeth of them.

Of Archibald the seventh Earl of Angus, and the second Archibald.

TO *Archibald* the first succeeded *Archibald* the second, his Granchild by his Son *George* Master of *Angus*.

HE was thrice married first to *Margaret Hepburn* Daughter to *Patrick Hepburn* the first Lord of *Bothwell*, being as yet very young; for at his second Marriage he was not old, but a Youth. She died in Child-birth within the Year, as they say, immediately after the Field of *Flowden* 2. His second Wife was Queen *Margaret*, Relict of King *James IV.* and Daughter to King *Henry VII.* of England. She bare to him a Daughter Lady *Margaret Douglas*, who was married to *Matthew Stewart* Earl

Earl of Lennox, and bare to him Henry Lord Darnly, that married Queen Mary of Scotland, and Father to King James VI. of Scotland, and first of Great Britain, now happily reigning. Lady Margaret had also another Son named Charles, who was Father to the Lady Arabella. 3. His third Wife was Margaret Maxwell Daughter to the Lord Maxwell. She bare to him a Son and a Daughter, who died both of them before they were eight Years old. He had also a base Daughter by a Daughter of Traquair's, Jean Douglas married to the Lord Ruthven. Some say that he begot this Daughter in the Queen's Time, while she lying in of Lady Margaret Douglas in England, after her Delivery went to London, and staid there with her Brother King Henry VIII. and with her Sister the late Queen of France, and then Duchess of Suffolk. Others say that it was before. He had also a base Son, as I take it, commonly called *George the postulant* to a Byname, because I know not upon what Claim or Title, he did postulate and claim the Ab-bacy of *Aberbrothock*, and not only did postulate it, but apprehended it also, and used it as his own.

HAVING brought the House of *Angus* still increasing, and growing in Greatness and Honour unto this Man *Archibald* the second, shall we suffer it now to decay, or to halt in his Person? No, but we shall see it increase so much the more, as he approacheth nearer unto that Descent, which is able to give Honour unto Baseness itself, far more to add and multiply Honour, upon that which is already honourable. Men do not only take Honour from their Progenitors; their Posterity makes them honourable; which seeing it is undeniable, in what Place of Honour shall we rank this *Archibald*, Father to the Lady Margaret Douglas,

glas, and by her, Great Grandfather to our Sovereign King *James of Great Britain*. This one thing is enough to lift him up to the highest Top of Honour; all other Things are but accessary, yet are they Additions of great Importance. Men are honourable by their Marriage: Who then so honourable as he? having married a Queen, a King's Daughter, a King's Sister, a King's Mother. Others also of the Subjects of this Country have married Queens, I grant, but none of them did marry Queen *Margaret*, a Lady so virtuous; none did marry a Queen so royally descended, and every way regal in her Father, her Mother, her Brother, her Sister, her Husband, her Son, being all of them Kings or Queens. None did marry a Queen without some Blemish and Diminution of her Reputation but he: None with the Approbation of all Men, even of the Queen's own chief Kindred, with the Allowance, Desire and Exhortation of her Kinsfolks, of King *Henry VIII*. But you will say perhaps, That this hath been Chance or Fortune, or Ignorance in her, Blindness of an Impotent Woman, who placed her Affection without Desert, or that it hath been Ignorance in King *Henry* her Brother, a foreign Prince, ill informed. Let us therefore hear such Witnesses as were not blinded, either with womanly Affection, or with the Ignorance of a Stranger; such as were impartial, and who had neither Fear nor Hope, Love or Hatred, which are the common Causes of Partiality. These are our Histories, which if they record Truth, as they are Records of Truth, if there was any more worthy, or before him in any good Quality, then let it be accounted Folly in her, and Weakness in her Brother. What do these our Histories then say? First of his Place and Descent, they say he was the first of the Youth
of.

of *Scotland* for Nobility. Lo here is one good Quality, and that a very main one, wherein her Choice and her Brother's Approbation are justified, and he shown to be worthy, nay most worthy by his Place and Birth, whereof we have said enough heretofore. But let that be thought of no Moment or Value if there be no more. What say they next? What of himself? The first of the Youth of *Scotland* for Favour and Comeliness of Personage. I dare not consent to them that make no Account hereof: It hath ever been in account; Men have thought it worthy, whereon to bestow a Kingdom. It is yet regarded, it affects all human Creatures, and moves us whether we will or not: They say that Beasts discern it not. I doubt of it, though we are not able to discern their discerning of it: But let them be Beasts that do so; and let this also be nothing in him, if there be no Qualities joined to it, which it gives Lustre to, as Gold to a Diamond. Let it be, as in all Men and Women, like a Ring of Gold on a Swine's Snout, ill placed and matched, unseemly and unworthily; yet it is Gold, and Gold is ever precious, and to be desired; although the Swine's Snout be not worthy to be so fairly and finely deckt or adorned. What are then his other Properties and Qualities of Mind? and Manhood which is the third Point? The first and principal, say they, of the Youth of *Scotland* in all good Exercise, Knowledge, Skill and Understanding belonging to a Man of his Place; for I doubt not there were many more cunning Clerks than he; yet not more sufficient in Uprightness, honest Virtue, Dexterity and good Address, both in politick Matters belonging to the good Government of the Country, and Gentleman-like Exercise becoming his Estate, for Body or Mind, for Peace or War. What Particulars they are, we shall see in

in his particular Actions, viz. Valour, and true Courage, with Love and Kindness to his Country, hereditary Properties from the very Root of which he is sprung. Also Wisdom and Magnanimity, Truth and Uprightness in Words and Actions, with others which will appear, as the Occasion occurs. And so we have him by these Testimonies thrice, that is every way first or Chief and Principal. 1. Chief in Nobility beyond all. 2. Chief in Personage beyond all. 3. Chief in Virtue, and all good Arts, for so is the Word, or Qualities, beyond all. Worthy therefore whom the Queen should have preferred, and made choice of to be her Husband beyond and before all, worthy of whom should descend that Race of Kings so Noble beyond all, which as it honours him, so doth it not disgrace or disparage that noble and Princely Race, to be come of such an one in his person of such Stock in the whole Race and descent of that whole Family, so noble, so worthy and heroically every way. Not so much private in Place as Princely in Worth, all Virtue and Magnanimity, tho' otherwise Subjects. And thus the honour of the house doth rise in his Person whom we see accounted by all every way honourable, honourable by Blood, honourable by Virtue, honourable by Marriage, honourable by Affinity and Alliance, honourable by Progeny and Posterity, honourable by all Actions by all valiant and always worthy Acts. As for his Greatness and Puissance, we find it at his Entry and Beginning matched, yea over matched by the Lord *Hums* Chamberlain; but in End harder to be matched by any, nay matching almost what should not be matched in any sort, wherewith no Subject should match himself; which however good or evil it be in using, yet it is Greatness to have done so.

To come to his particular Actions; the first we find is his Marriage, which is not indeed to be attributed to his Prudence, yet is it the Effect of his Worth. She affected him, and he had reason not to refuse the Party; her Brother King *Henry* consents, and writes lovingly to them both. He had his own particular End, which was to counterpoize, or weigh down the *French* Faction, and to hinder the Incurfions of *Scotland* by his Means; some say also, to stay the Duke of *Albany* from coming home to be Governor; but that was not yet motioned: And though that was his End, yet the other was the End of his Desire, to stay *Albany*, and his main Scope; for all that he aimed at by staying of him, was but to stay the *Scottish* Wars, which he by his coming was like to set on Foot. Things fall out contrary many Times to Mens Intentions. This Marriage brought in the Duke of *Albany*, and by him had strengthened the *French*, if he had guided wisely, kept the Hearts of Men in *Scotland*, and entertained his Home-bringer, the Chamberlain, and given him a thankful Meeting for that Work. But there is a Providence, if Men would observe. This Plot fails King *Henry*, that fails the Chamberlain, this fails the Duke of *Albany*. The King hopes to hinder the *French* by this Marriage; it furthers them to be all the Guiders, being brought in by the Chamberlain. The Chamberlain looks to be rewarded, he hath his Head stricken off. The Duke thinks that the Chamberlain's Death shall procure him all Quietness, Ease and Power, it loseth him the Hearts of all Men, and at last his Office. The working of these things was thus.

THE Queen was by the King her Husband's Testament left Regent during her Widow-hood. That lasted not long; from the 25th of September, until the next Spring was ended, say
some,

He marries
Queen Mar-
garet.

The Queen
loseth her
Regency by
her Mar-
riage.

some; others say until the 6th of *August*, almost a Year. Then she marryeth, and so falls from that Charge. The Earl of *Angus* did labour to have it continued, and used a strong Motive, which was, that so the Peace should last with *England*, which was both profitable and necessary. The Queen during her Regency had procured it; she had written to her Brother that he should stay the War, and abstain from troubling his Nephew's Kingdom, troubled already too much with Factions within itself. He had answered her, That he warred against the *Scots* when they made War against him; and that he would keep Peace with them when they kept Peace with him. This was a magnanimous Mind, and a princely, say our Writers, not envious of the Praise of the *English*, though indeed it was not without a good Policy; for by that Means he had Leisure to prosecute his *French* Intentions, without Fear of being disturbed or diverted by the *Scottish* IncurSIONS. But we will not extenuate it; he had indeed the better Hand of it, and at this Time Peace was more needful for *Scotland*: And therefore this Reason brought by *Angus* for the Continuation of the Queen's Authority was so much the greater: But it could not move the other Party, whereof the Lord *Hume* Chamberlain was Chief. They shew their Willingness to honour the Queen; that appeared, say they, in this, that contrary to the ancient Custom of this Kingdom, they had suffered and obeyed her Authority, whiles she herself kept her Right, by keeping her Widowhood. Now that she had quit it by marrying, why should they not chuse another to succeed into the Place which she had left? which the old Laws would also have taken from her, which do not permit that a Woman should govern in the most peaceable Times, far less now, when

when such Evils do threaten, as can scarce be resisted by the wisest and most sufficient Men. This they pretended, and touched the Point that did annoy them. The marrying of the Earl of *Angus* had made him too great already, the continuing of her Authority would make him far greater.

THIS they cannot endure; especially the Chamberlain, who was jealous of his Greatness, which he thought would impair and lessen his own, already beginning to decline, by the retiring and withdrawing of *Liddisdale* and *Annandale* from following him, and casting themselves again under the Wings of the *Douglases*, to whom they had wont to belong. This Point being once obtained, that the Queen should govern no more, the next was, who then should be the Man? Here also was no less Strife and Contention. The Chamberlain's Credit carried it, his own Power, his Alliance, the Earl of *Arran* being his Brother-in-law, the Earl of *Lennox*, *Arran's* Sister's Son, joined to the Prelates, (a Faction ever *French*, and then more than ever, by the King of *England's* shaking off the Yoke of *Rome*, especially the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, a proud and factious Prelate. By these Men, all Noblemen at home are despised and balked, and the Office cast upon *John*, called afterwards Duke of *Albany*, Cousin-german to the late King, being then in *France*, brought up in *France*, and who had only the *French* Tongue, whither his Father was banished and forfeited, and he himself not restored; yet is he by them, who had not so much Power as to restore him in the Minority of a King, as had been proved in *James II's* Time against the Earl of *March*, restored in his Minority, ordained to be Governor of the King and whole Country. Bent was the Chamberlain that way: And so bent he was, that

Convention
about chu-
sing a Go-
vernor.

Of the second Archibald,

that he professed openly at the Convention, That though they would all refuse, yet he alone would bring him home, and make him Governor. A great Word, if he was not able to do it; a great Power if he was able. It is interpreted Ambition in him, and that despairing to have that Honour conferred on himself, and envying it to any other, he took this Course. I cannot be of that Mind. He that had Power to do so much for another, had Power to have done somewhat for himself; at least so far as to have gotten some part of the Government with others, as it was customable, when they could not agree upon any one Man, they divided it. It is reported also for certain, that the Earl of *Angus* finding that he was so earnest in that Course, went to him, and naming him familiarly by his Name, *Alexander*, said he, *what do you mean by this? that Man is a Stranger to us, and understandeth not our Language no more than we do his. He will work his own Ends, and who knoweth after what Manner? whether or not to the King's prejudice, who is only between him and the Crown. Certainly he will never regard either of us, whom he will rather seek to depress than to advance. Go to therefore, let us agree amongst ourselves. Take you the Government of the Borders, and of all that lieth on that side of the River Forth, and let me have the Command on the other Side. A fair Offer, and a wise Consideration, which the Chamberlain shall acknowledge hereafter too late, and shall himself say the like to him that now doth thus admonish him. For the present he refused obstinately; and, as it may be thought, fatally, persisting in his former Resolution. Whereof, when I consider what might have been the Cause, I think it hath not been any Distrust to obtain some Place in the guiding of Affairs, but*

a doubting how to keep it, if by Chance any thwarting or Infociableness of Empire should fall out between them at any Time thereafter, in which Case *Angus* could not but be the stronger by the Power of *England* his Allies, they having no Party so great to counterpoize them: For this Cause he hath thought it fit to bring in the *French*, to equal the Balance, as principal, himself only as accessory; not doubting of a chief Place, both by his Desert in bringing him home, and the Necessity of his Service, which could never be lacking. On this rather than the other Ground, as I take it, he hath laid down his Course. But as well as he laid his Grounds, hereupon he built both his Ruin before three Years were come about, and speedy Repentance soon after the Arrival of his Governor.

HOWBEIT, upon this Occasion, the Duke of *Albany* (so called afterwards) is sent for, arrives, is made Earl of *March*, Duke of *Albany*, which his Father had been before, but of *Albany* was forfeited, and Governor until the King's made Governor. ripe Years. The Lord *Hume* comes to him, some say with a huge Number (10,000 Horse) to *Dumbarton*; whereupon the Governor said, he was too great to be a Subject. Others report, that he came very privately with his Household only, (some 24 Horse in *Kendal-Green*, which was his Livery, and that the Duke slighted him with this Sentence, *Minuit presentia samam*; being a Man of low Stature, and carrying no appearance of much Stuff to be in him by his Outside. However, he was then welcomed, and what fair and good Countenance he got then, it lasted not long. *John Hepburn* Prior of *St. Andrews* was his Enemy *burn under-* on this Occasion. *Andrew Stewart* Archbishop mines the of *St. Andrews* was slain at *Flowdon*. *Three Lord Hume.* divers pretended to the Place by divers Means: *Gavin*

Of the second Archibald,

Gavin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, Uncle to the Earl of Angus, by the Queen's Admission; Hepburn by the Election of the Chapter; Andrew Foreman by the Pope's Gift. This Foreman was Abbot of Dunfermline and Aberbrothock, Legate from the Pope, and had gotten this to maintain his Grandeur, or as a Reward of his Service. The Question was hard to decide. All pretended Right and Reason. Gavin Douglas had gotten Possession of the Castle, and had put Servants into it; but the Prior was stronger about the Town, and finds a Mean to thrust them out. Foreman cannot get his Bulls proclaimed; none durst take it in hand, so long as Hume and Hepburn agreed. He works wisely, having been born under the Lord Hume; he flees to him as his Patron, agrees with him as a Friend, and gives the Abbacy of Coldingham to his youngest Brother David. He doth his Turn, proclaimeth his Bull, but had no Power in Fife to prosecute it any further: Yet it causeth Hepburn to come to a point, to take Composition, the Bishoprick of Murray and 3000 Crowns by Year, and a Discharge for all his bypast Intromissions. So he agrees with Foreman, but disagrees with the Lord Hume, and with such Malice, because of that Morsel pulled out of his Jaws, that he ceased not to work him what Mischief he could. He did so possess the Governor with Jealousy of the Lords Hume's and Angus's Greatness and Aspiring, that he thought there was no way to secure himself and his Government, but by ridding the Country of them both. Wherefore the Lord Hume repairing to him, and finding by his neglectful Carriage, and cold Entertainment, the little Good-will he bare him, repenting too late his Forwardness in his Election, and calling to mind what Angus had foretold him, though he had contemned his Counsel, yet now seeing
no

no other Remedy, went to him, and the Queen his Wife, condemning his Fact, and regretting the present Estate of the King and Country, and advised them to fly into *England* with the young King. When the Governor had Notice of this Consultation, he used such Diligence and Expedition, that coming to *Stirling* unlooked for, he surprized the Queen; and removing her and the *Douglases* from about the King, he gave the keeping of him to the Lord *John Erskine* and other three Noblemen. Hereupon the Queen and *Angus*, as also the Lord *Hume* and his Brother *William*, withdrew themselves into *England*; and the Governor, upon their Departure, sent Ambassadors to King *Henry* to clear himself, that he had done nothing why they should be so afraid of him, or leave their Country. He dealt also privately with themselves by their Friends, promising and protesting to give them all Content and Satisfaction, in such ways, that they believing and desiring to live at home, returned all of them, Lady Margaret Douglas
ret Douglas
born at Har-
bottle in Eng-
land.
save only the Queen, who being then near the Time of her Child-birth, remained at *Harbottle* in *Northumberland*, where she was brought to Bed of Lady *Margaret Douglas*. Then alsoon as she was able to endure Travel, she went to *London*, where she was kindly welcomed, and lovingly entertained by her Brother King *Henry* and her Sister *Mary* Queen of *France*, and afterwards Dutches of *Suffolk*. But the Governor's Head being once filled with Suspitions, and new Causes of Distrust arising daily, could not be quieted by their Return, nor the Queen's Absence; neither could he think himself bound by Promises. *Gavin Douglas* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, Uncle to *Angus*, was committed to Prison; *John* Lord *Drummond* his Grandfather, or Mother's Brother, and *David* Pañitar Secretary to the late King, were likewise laid

Of the second Archibald,

fast. *Alexander Lord Hume* and his Brother *William* were executed, their Goods confiscated, their Lands forfeited, and their Heads affixed on the City Gate of *Edinburgh*, called the *Nether-bow*. Being thus rid of the Chamberlain, he did not much fear the Earl of *Angus*, whom he left to govern in his Absence, for he went into *France*; but joined with him the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle*, *Huntly*, the Archbishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, together with a *Frenchman* named *Antonius Darsius*, commonly known by the Title of *Sieur de la Beauté*. To this *La Beauté* he allotted *Dunbar*, the Shires of *Lothian* and the *Merse*, where the Chamberlains Lands and Friends were. This *Darsius* was slain by Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, occasionally, the 18th of *September* 1517: for this Sir *David* was outlawed, his House seized and Sir *George Douglas* (*Angus's* Brother) suspected to be accessory, imprisoned in *Garvet* Castle, they not daring to meddle with the Earl himself, who was no less suspected to have been conscious of it, though falsely, because Sir *David* had married their Sister *Alison*.

Ant. Darsius
or *De la*
Beauté slain.

Dissention
betwixt *Ar-*
ran and
Angus.

NOT long after this there fell out an occasion of great Troubles betwixt the Earl of *Angus* and the Earl of *Arran*. There was some Question of the Bailiffship and Right of keeping Courts in *Jedburgh-Forrest*, the Earl of *Angus's* Lands, but in which *Andrew Ker* of *Farnherst* challenged a Right and Privilege of doing Justice, and punishing Malefactors, as hereditary Bailiff. In this Controversy *Arran* sided with *Farnherst*; not for any particular Relation, or because he thought his Right was good, but only in opposition to *Angus*, whom he hated inwardly. What the Cause of his Hatred was, we hear not; and they had been good Friends before. *Arran's* base Son, *James Hamilton*, as he was on his Way towards *Farnherst*

nihers^t to assist him, John Somervel of Cam-
nethen set upon him, killed five or six of his
Company, took thirty Men and Horses, and
pursued himself so near, that he was forced to
turn in to Hume-Castle for his Safety. This
Fact was imputed to Angus, on whom Somer-
vel did for the most part depend, Men think-
ing that it was done by his Direction. But it
is well known that besides this Quarrel of the
Earl's, that Man had ever a particular Feud
with the *Hamiltons*. But if the Earl had been
guilty of this Wrong and Offence done unto
them, it is not likely that he would have been
so slightly accompanied at *Edinburgh*, and have
stay'd their coming thither with so small For-
ces, if he had suspected any ill Meaning from
them, or known any such Deserving in him-
self. Besides, they having so just Cause, they
might have complained and gotten Redress and
Satisfaction of the Earl by Order of Law, if
they could have made it appear that he had a-
ny hand in it, and not have taken this violent
Course. Wherefore in all likelihood this was
but a Colour and Pretext. Hereupon, however, ^{skirmish in}
on the 27th of April 1520, a Convention be- ^{Edinburgh}
ing appointed at *Edinburgh*, where *Archibald* ^{betwixt}
Douglas of *Kilspindy* (the Earl of *Angus*'s Uncle, ^{them.}
or Cousin-german rather) was Provost: The
Hamiltons refused to come thither, alledging
that they could not think themselves assured of
their Lives in the Town where he was Provost;
Archibald, to cut off their Excuse, and that he
might not hinder publick Business, laid down
his Office voluntarily, and in his Room was
chosen *Robert Logan* a Burgess of *Edinburgh*.
Then they came to the City, and finding the
Earl of *Angus* there but meanly attended, and
weakly guarded, his Friends not being yet con-
vened, they assembled together with the chief

Of the second Archibald,

Noblemen of the West in Archbishop *Beaton's* House in the *Blackfriar-Wynd*, (this *Beaton* was also Chancellor) and there resolved by all Means to apprehend *Angus*; alledging that his Power was so great, that nothing could be considered freely, so long as he was free. The Cause was plausible, their Malice great, and the Occasion fair, considering his Singleness and their Multitude.

So soon as *Angus* heard of their Consultation, he sent to them his Uncle the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, desiring that if they had any Grievance, or just Quarrel against him, they would complain thereof to the Convention, to whose Censure he would submit himself, and make such Satisfaction as it should please them to ordain. And to this purpose *Dunkeld* spake to *Glasgow* the Chancellor, to move the rest to accept of this Offer, and that he would not be an Instrument of civil Dissention. But he had fair perswading of him: No Man was deeper in it than he, who was Ring-leader to the rest, and very Episcopally had put on Armour to be present at it, and to assist them himself in Person; yet he sought to excuse himself, and laid all the Blame upon the Earl of *Arran*, who, *said he*, is highly offended with the Earl of *Angus* for many Occasions, but chiefly for the Affront done to his Son by *Somervell*, and for the Slaughter of *De la Beauté* committed by his Brother-in-law Sir *David Hume*, not without his Knowledge, Consent and Counsel: For this Cause *Arran* will needs have him to go to Prison, *There is no Remedy*, says *Glasgow* upon my Conscience I cannot help it. And in the Heat of his Asseveration he beat his Breast with his Hand, where his Conscience lay well covered with a Coat of Mail; a Secret hid under his Seton or Caslock: And now being knocked upon, it answered with a rattling Noise

Noise which the Plates of Iron did yield, bearing Witness against him how little he cared for that inward Witness, which belied him, when he protested, he was desirous to pacify Matters, being indeed thus preparing for War. Neither did *Dunkeld* stick to tell him so, saying, *How now, my Lord, methinks your Conscience clatters. We are Priests, it is not lawful for us to put on Armour, or bear Arms, it makes us irregular.* And so leaving him, he returned to his Nephew, and told him shortly, that there was no Possibility of composing Matters, and as little of escaping or flying; for the City-gates were shut, and his Enemies were assembling: *For me I am a Church-man, I will go to my Chamber and pray for you.* And so he did, but he sent his Servants with the Earl to aid him. Some ascribe this to want of Strength, and to his Debility and old Age; but it was indeed, because he held it not lawful, as a Thing forbidden in the Canon Law, and which he had reproached to Bishop *Beaton*. For in the Year 1513, his eldest Brother *George*, slain at *Flowdon*, was but forty four, and *Gavin* the fourth Brother not above thirty eight or thirty nine; so that now in the Year 1526 he hath not been more than forty six, which is no Age of Decrepitness. *Dunkeld* being gone to his Devotion, *Angus* without further Consultation resolves rather to die honourably, defending himself against his Enemies, than to be haled, he and his Friends, forth to the Scaffold, and lay their Necks upon the Block to be beheaded by their proud and insulting Enemies. So he convenes his small Troop, tells them what his Mind was, and exhorts them to stand to it manfully: They all commended his Resolution, and shewed themselves most willing to hazard their Lives for his Safety. Wherefore, that they might not be surprized

Of the second Archibald,

in their Chambers, they came forth, and went down the High-street, (for the Earl did lodge at the *Strait-bow*) being in all but 80, or 100 at most; but they were all of them choice Men, valorous and hardy. *Angus* was well beloved in the Town, so that when he came by the Shops where the Pikes and Spears are made, they had Liberty to furnish themselves with long Weapons, and many also were reached to them by the Citizens out at the Windows, and from the Stairs; which was no small Advantage, their Enemies having no long Weapon at all. The chief Street is so seated, that the Gates being shut, there is no Entry to it but by some few Lanes that reach from the *Cowgate*, in one of which, called the *Black-friar Wynd*, the adverse Party had convened. Now that they might not issue forth upon him at divers Places, and so oppress him with their Multitude, *Angus* had caused his Men to close up and bar the Entrances of the Lanes with Coal-horses and Ale-barrels, Carts, and such things as would best serve for that purpose, and could be gotten on a sudden. He placed also some few Men at every Lane-head to defend the Barricadoes; but he himself, with the choicest and most resolute of his Company, planted themselves directly over against the *Black-friar Wynd*, which he had left open for them, and as they thronged out, he assailed them with Pikes and long Weapons. There having slain many of the foremost that came out, and scattered them all, he drave the rest down the Lane, which by the Narrowness thereof, made their Number unprofitable; as had been rightly foreseen by *Angus*, who knew that a few would be able to make good a strait Passage against many, their Multitude availing nothing, scarce one of ten having Room to fight at once, and come to Strokes together.

together. The Earl of *Arran* and his Son *James Hamilton* (having been apparently of that Number that issued forth at the Lane's Head at first, or else they could not have gone that Way) crossing the High-street, fled down a Lane on the North-side of the City, and finding a Coal-horse standing in their Way, they threw off his Loading, and rode through the North-loch at a Ford where there is none known now, and so escaped easily, no Man pursuing them that Way. The rest were scattered on the other Side of the Town, of which some fled to the *Gray-friars* Monastery for Sanctuary, the Chancellor fled on foot to *Linlithgow*. In the mean time, while they were at this Bickering within the City with great Tumult, *William Douglas* Prior of *Coldingham*, *Angus's* Brother, and *Sir David Hume*, his Brother-in-law, came to the City-gates with 800 Horse, which they had brought out of the *Merse*, and finding them shut, broke open the Wicket with Smiths Hammers, and so entred. But before they could get in, the Fray was ended. *Angus* strengthened and emboldned with this Supply, because the City was still full of his Enemies, caused it to be proclaimed with Sound of Trumpet at the Market-Cross, that none should be seen abroad with Arms but he and his, under pain of Death. This enforced them of his adverse Party to crave Leave to depart, which was granted unto them. Such was his Moderation towards those who had plotted his Ruin and Overthrow. He had fought for his Life and Honour, not out of Malice or Hatred; and now that these were out of Danger, he lets his Enemies go away safe and sound: And so there departed of them in one Company 800 Horse well laughed at, and derided of the Beholders, to see so many beaten and chased by so few. Besides these, there were many others that had

Of the second Archibald,

fled before, and divers staid still in the City lurking. This Conflict fell out on the last of April 1520, in which there were seventy slain, and two of Note, viz. *Patrick Hamilton* Brother to *Arran*, and the Master of *Montgomery*. The Chancellor, as we have said, fled disguised to *Stirling* to the Queen. After this, *Sir David Hume* returning to the *Merse*, and being thus strengthened by the Authority and Countenance of *Angus*, found means to take his own House of *Wedderburn* from those that had kept it since the killing of *De la Beauté*. He took also the Castle of *Hume* at the same time, which had been seized on by the Governor, and was kept by Men that he had put into it. And thus was the Earl of *Angus's* Party settled and strengthened in the *Merse*. Also in *Lothian* he had no Opposition or Contrary; neither in *Tiviotdale*, and such other Parts of the Borders. The *Hamiltons* were the only great Men that had any Equality to match him, and were now incensed by their Loss at *Edinburgh*. Some of his Friends lay near unto them. *Robert Lord Boyd* was his Dependur, and special Friend: He was also near to him in Blood, for *Angus's* Grandmother (*Elizabeth Boyd*) was Sister to *Thomas Boyd*, Grandfather to this *Robert*. The *Lord Boyd* was nearer to *Arran*; for King *James III.*'s Sister was Mother to *Arran*, and Grandmother to *Boyd*, as is probable: But *Boyd* followed *Angus* more than him. His House of *Kilmarnock* in *Cuninghame* lay nearest to their Forces in *Clydesdale*, and farthest from the Earl of *Angus's* Power and Friendship. Therefore they besiege it, but without Success, it being so well defended, that they rose and went away without getting of it.

THE next Year, 18th July 1521, *Angus* came to *Edinburgh*, accompanied with his Friends, and especially the *Humes* that were banished, as our Writers design them: By which they mean,

as I think, *George* now Lord *Hume*, (for he is Lord ever after this) and Sir *David* of *Wedderburn*, with his Brothers; who may be said to have been banished, in regard he was denounced Rebel and outlawed; but otherwise he never went out of the Country, but dwelt ever still in some part of the *Merse*. There *Angus*, as *Buchanan* says, (but as our Folks say, *George* Lord *Hume* and *Wedderburn*, by *Angus's* Connivance) took down the Heads of the late Chamberlain and his Brother *William*, and interred them solemnly in the *Gray-friars*. He passed from thence to *Stirling*, hoping to have found the Chancellor *Beaton* there, but he was fled. From thence he returned to *Edinburgh*.

ABOUT the 28th of *October* the Governor returning out of *France*, *Angus's* Power seemed to him to be too great. He determines to diminish it: For which purpose he commands himself to go into *France*, causeth his Uncle the Bishop of *Dunkeld* to be sent for to *Rome*, as we have said above. Neither did *Angus* return out of *France*, until the Government was taken from the Duke, who from this Time forward doth nothing of Importance: For the next Year, 1522, he went with an Army to *Solway*, to have invaded *England*; but his Army loved him not, all went unwillingly with him, and against the Hair. The Earl of *Huntly* being come within three Miles of *England*, openly refused to go any further; so that he was forced to move *Dacres* and *Musgrave* (*Englishmen*) underhand to sue for Peace, that he might have some Shew of an honourable Cause for his Retreat. Wherefore the 10th of *October*, the same Year, away he goeth again to *France*, having staid one full Year in *Scotland*; and returns into *Scotland* the 22d of *September* the next Year, 1523. He brought then with him 3000 Foot and 100 Men of Arms: Then assembling an Army of *Scots*, the 20th of

Angus goeth into *France*,

Of the second Archibald,

October, thinking to do great Matters with his French Aid; but having passed Tweed at the Bridge of Melroß, he was served just as he had been the Year before, they refusing still to enter England. Thereupon he came back again to the other Side of the River, and coming along by the Bank thereof on Scottish Ground, he began to batter from thence the Castle of Wark, standing on the other Side of the River, on English Ground: And having made a Breach, caused his Frenchmen to give the Assault, who entred the Breach; but they were repulsed again, and beaten out. So he left the Siege, and retired to Lauder in the Night.

IN the Spring he goeth again into France, promising to return before September, and taking a Promise of the Nobility, that they should not transport the King from Stirling before his Return. This their Promise was kept with the like Fidelity as he had kept his Promise made to the Chamberlain: For the King was brought to the Abbey of Holy-rood-house, by the Queen, his Mother, the Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and many others; and from thence with all Solemnity of Parliament, to the Parliament-house, where he did solemnly abrogate the Governor's Authority; by which means he saved him the Labour of returning into Scotland again. He needed not, neither did he return any more to it, nor pass the Seas for that Errand. He had governed, or rather misgoverned, the Space of nine Years. He spent in his Journies, and staying in France, six of these nine, being absent from the Country, and leaving it a Prey to Foreigners, and civil Ambition and Dissention; and when he was at home, he abused and oppressed the Nobility by Slaughter or Banishment.

BUT though he returned no more, yet others returned for him, those whom he had caused

Albany's
Govern-
ment abro-
gated.

go to *France* by his Authority, do now return without his Licence, yea without Licence or recalling of any other, for ought we read. The Earl of *Angus* returns after he had been in *France* almost three Years. He returned through *England*, having first sent *Simon Pennango*, and obtained Licence of King *Henry*, by whom he was received lovingly, and dismissed liberally. For King *Henry* desired greatly the diminishing of the Governor's Authority, and was glad of the Alterations in *Scotland*; and therefore did make the more of *Angus*, because he knew that he was opposite to the Duke. At his Return he found the State of the Country in this Case. We told before, how in the Year 1518, the Queen his Wife, and he, had withdrawn themselves into *England*, and staid at *Harbottle*, where she bare her Daughter Lady *Margaret Douglas*: How her Husband having returned into *Scotland*, she (after her Delivery) went to the Court of *England* to visit her Brother and her Sister, with whom she staid for the Space of a whole Year; in which Time the Earl her Husband becomes acquainted with a Daughter of *Traquair*, by whom he had a Daughter called *Jean Douglas*, married afterwards to *Patrick Lord Ruthven*. When the Queen came home again, he meets her at *Berwick*, and brought her to *Edinburgh*. She having gotten Notice of this Wrong he had done her, never lived with him in that Love they had done before. And now having set her Affection upon a younger Brother of the Lord *Ochiltree's*, whom she intended to create Lord *Methuen*, she was become altogether his Enemy; and that so obstinately, that howbeit her Brother King *Henry* wrote to her, that for her own Honour, for the Peace and Quierness of the Country, and for the Advantage of his Affairs, she would be reconciled to him; yet

The Earl of
Angus re-
turns out of
France.

Of the second Archibald,

she not only would not yield to it, but even sued for a Divorce before the Pope, at the Court of *Rome*, alledging that *Angus* had been affianced or betrothed to that Gentlewoman, who bare the Child to him, before he had married her; and so by Reason of that Pre-contract, could not be her lawful Husband. She prevailed not in her Suit, for her Alledgeance could not be proved, being also untrue: But she increased in Spite and Hatred against him, and was set, by all the Means she could, to overthrow him. This drew *Arran* to be of her Faction; both of them disliking that *Angus* should be in the first Place, and suspecting he would not be contented with the second, bent their Forces to contend against him as for Dominion and Empire. On the other Side there were the Earl of *Lennox* and *Argyle*, who had assisted the Queen and *Arran*, and helped them to abrogate the Duke of *Albany's* Authority, and to establish the King himself in the Government of the Kingdom. But now finding that the Queen and *Arran* took all the guiding of the King and Country into their own Hands only, and did not admit them to be any way Sharers with them therein, but wholly excluded them from all Copartnership, they were glad of *Angus's* Return; for they knew that by his Power they should be able either to break the Authority of the Queen and *Arran*, or to diminish it in some measure. Neither were they deceived in their Expectation; for having convened the greater Part of the Nobility, *Angus*, *Lennox* and *Argyle* are chosen Keepers and Governors of the King and Country. Hereupon they pass forth with great Celerity, accompanied with 2000 Horse, and move Archbishop *Beaton*, Chancellor, to consent to the Election, who did accordingly, not daring to refuse. Then to *Stirling* they go, and there de-

The Triumvirate of
Angus, *Argyle* and *Lennox*.

depose all that bare any publick Office, whom they suspected, and placed in their Rooms such as were sure to their Side. From thence they came to *Edinburgh*, and made their Entry without Violence. The Queen and *Arran* remained in the Castle with the King, confident in the Strength of the Place, and the King's Authority, though naked and unarm'd: But there being but a small Trench cast up about the Castle, they yielded themselves and it, because they were no ways provided for enduring a Siege. The King only was retained, and the rest dismissed. The Order of governing agreed upon amongst these three Earls, was, That they should rule by Turns, each of them his four Months successively: The first Place was *Angus's*, either by Lot, or by Consent. During the Time of his presiding, the Abbacy of *Holy-rood-house* fell vacant, the Abbot thereof, *George Crichton* being advanced to be Bishop of *Dunkeld*. *Angus* confers this Abbacy on his Brother *William* Prior of *Coldingham*, either by himself and his own Power, or by moving the King to confer it upon him, and that without the Consent of the other two, which he thought he needed not, seeing he was absolute Governor for his Time. The other two thought themselves wronged by this baulking, and thought that howsoever he was for those Months to attend the King alone, yet that he ought not to govern, or dispose of any thing of Moment by himself alone. So they take Offence at it, and *Argyle* retires, and withdraws himself home into *Argyle*. *Lennox* would gladly have done the like, but the King detained him for the Love he bare him, yet did he utter his Discontentedness many ways. Thus is the Triumvirate dissolved, for which Dissolution *Angus* is blamed, as having encroached upon the others, and drawing all to him-

The Triumvirate dissolved,

self

Of the second Archibald,

self alone. But he seems to be unjustly blamed, if this were the Time of his Government (as it should appear it was) and not of Attendance only; for they also attended the King at the same time. The Decision of this Question depends upon the Words of the Act or Contract of their Agreement in point of governing, which we have not precise. Yet they seem to have been too hasty, in that they did not wait their Turn, during the Time of which, some such thing, or perhaps some better thing might have fallen in their Donation, wherein, if he had impeded, or hindered them, then they might have had just and undeniable Cause to complain of him. Now they abandon their Charge, and thereby give him occasion to administer alone, which is imputed to his Ambition. And so he takes all upon him, making small Reckoning of their Offence, which he esteemed to be unjustly taken; and leaning to the Greatness of his own Power, which was such as we have said; and was now also increased by having the Earl of *Huntly* for his Ward and Pupil, he being left Tutor by his Grandfather Earl *Alexander Gordon*, and having gotten the Wardship from the King; so that now he had the Friends and Dependents of the House of *Huntly* to be his.

The Slaughter of Patrick Blackader Archdeacon of Dumblane.

IN the mean time fell out the Slaughter of Patrick Blackader Archdeacon of Dumblane, Cousin-german to Robert Blackader, sometime Prior of Coldingham, and Brother-german to Robert Blackader late of Blackader. Robert the Prior of Coldingham had been slain before by Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, and his Brother John Hume being in his Company, is thought to have given him the deadly Stoke. This Sir David married Alison Douglas Sister to the Earl of Angus, and Relict of Robert Blackader of Blackader. She had two only Daugh-

Daughters married to two of Sir David's Brothers; the eldest to this *John Hume*, and the younger to *Robert Hume*, who claimed, and possessed the Lands of *Blackader* in the Right of their Wives, who were Heirs of Line. Hence arose deadly Feud berwixt them and the Name of *Blackader*, who challenged to be Heirs by Entail of the Lands to the Heirs-male. Wherefore they had laid wait for *John* divers Times to have slain him; especially at one Time, he being in a Tavern in *Edinburgh*, and his Men being all abroad, or in another Room with a Gentleman or two of his Acquaintance and Companions, a Priest of Archdeacon *Blackader's* came into the Room where he was, *John*, not knowing who he was, desired him to drink with him out of Courtesy; but he refused, and went forth presently. When he was gone, one of the House says to *John*, If ye had known who that Man was, ye would not have offered him any Wine, for it was such an one. If I had known, (says *John*) that it had been he, I should have made him drink his Belly-full, whether he would or not. As they were thus talking, a Servant of the House going to the Door, espies the Archdeacon coming, with a great Company of Men, and came running to *John*, and told him of it, who leaping to the Door, just as they were ready to enter, made good the Door and drave them back, so that with much ado, he and those that were with him found means to shut it. This Attempt so incensed him, that having understood of the Archdeacon's coming to *Edinburgh* at this time, he lay in wait for him by the Way, and slew him. This Slaughter was imputed to the Earl of *Angus*, by his Enemies; at least some Aspersions thereof was rubbed upon him, because, as they alledged, *Angus* had sent for the Archdeacon, and he was come upon his sending for,

for, and, as some said, upon an Appointment of Agreement to be made betwixt *John Hume* and him. But *John* in all Discourse or Conference of that Business, denied that ever there was any Appointment or Overture of Agreement, or that he ever knew of *Angus* his sending for him. That which made it the rather believed to be done by *Angus*'s Consent or Privy, was, because, when in the Tumult raised upon the Slaughter, divers went out to have apprehended *John*, *Sir George Douglas*, the Earl's Brother, went out also to have taken him at the Earl's Command, who was highly offended that he should have committed this Insolence in his Government; whom when the others saw, they suspected that he being *John*'s Wife's Uncle, and seeing many *Douglases* and *Humes* in his Company (who were Friends and allied with *John*) was come out, not to apprehend, but to defend and assist him. Wherefore they returned from pursuing him. *Sir George* also returned shortly after without finding him; neither was there any Search made for him after that. *Angus*, besides that he was Uncle to *John*'s Wife, having almost continual Use of serviceable and active Men, being loth to offend his Brother *Sir David*, and his other Friends in the *Merse*. And now were things in working, and a Faction making against *Angus*; Archbishop *Beaton*, who had joined with him rather out of Fear than Goodwill, had quickly fallen off from them: And *Angus*, to be revenged of him, had brought the King to his Lodging in *Edinburgh*, and intromitted and seized on his Household Stuff for his own Use. *Argyle* and *Lennox* had separated from him; the Queen and *Arran* were his professed Enemies; these had their Friends about the King; *Lennox* was ever with him, and most enure of any: His domestick Ser-

vants

A Faction
against *An-*
gus.

vants were corrupted by the Queen, who therefore sought by all Means to alienate the King's Mind from the *Douglases*, detracting and calumniating their Actions, some justly, many of them unjustly, aggravating their Errors, misinterpreting things doubtful, concealing the Good which they did, and traducing all. Thus did the King (tho', to retain his Favour, they had used him with all Indulgence, and had loosed the Reins to all Delights and Pleasures, even more than was fit) weary of their Government: Yet were they so uncircumspect, or careless, that they neglected to remove his suspected Servants, and to place their own assured Friends about him, either not doubting them that were with him, or being too confident in their own Strength and Power; so that by little and little he became altogether alienate; at last he opened his Mind to such as he trusted, and began to confer with them of the Way and Means how to be set free from that Bondage, as he was taught to call it. Above all he did most specially confer with the Earl of *Lennox*. While they are in plotting of these Devices, *Angus* (either not knowing, or not caring what they were doing) was much troubled in settling and ordering the Borders and the Outlaws there. He had made many Roads thither, but effected little or nothing: Now he takes Resolution, for the better Furtherance, to go into *Tiviotdale*, and, the more to terrify the Malefactors, and to encourage others against them, to take the King with him. Being come to *Jedburgh*, he moves the King to command the Chief of the Clans to bring in such Men as were given up by Name in Writing to him. It was obeyed, and by that Means many were executed and put to Death, many pardoned in hope of Amendment, and that of the principal Malefactors. While all are

Of the second Archibald,

are glad hereof, and their Minds loosed to Contentment, the Occasion seemed fair, and as it had fallen from Heaven, to them who were Enemies to the *Douglases* of taking the King out of their Hands and Custody.

THE Means is devised thus, That *Buccleugh*, who dwelt within a little of *Jedburgh*, should invite the King to his House, and retain him there, being not unwilling, till more were come and convened: But that Plot failed by Chance, or by Discovery, the King being brought back to *Melrofs*. Notwithstanding hereof, *Buccleugh* resolving to prosecute what he intended, would essay to do by Force, what he had failed in by Craft. He assembled about a thousand Horse of his Friends and other Borderers accustomed to Theft; he cast himself to be in the King's Way, as he was to pass into *Lothian* at the Bridge of *Melrofs* upon *Tweed*. The Earl of *Angus* sends to him, and asks his Meaning, and wills him to retire. He answered, He was come to show himself and his Friends to the King his Master, as other Border Men did. Then a Herald was sent to him, commanding him to withdraw himself out of the Way, in the King's Name; but his Answer was, That he knew the King's Mind as well as he, and would not go away till he saw him. The Earl of *Angus* had not so many in Number about him as *Buccleugh*, yet those he had being his choice Gentlemen, together with the Chiefs of the Names of *Hume* and *Ker*, *George Lord Hume*, and *Andrew Ker* of *Cessford*, all valiant and active Men, he resolved to hazard Battle: And because they were all come out on Horseback, he gave order that they should alight, and fight on Foot. The Lord *Hume* answered, he would do so, if the King would command him to do it. We hear not what Answer was made

Conflict betwixt *Angus* and *Buccleugh* at the Bridge of *Melrofs*,
1526.

made, or that the King commanded, but he alighted, and took part very honestly with the rest. *Buccleugh* also alighted, but he had no sooner joined Battle, than a great Number of his Men (better accustomed to steal than to fight) fled away and left him. He himself and his Friends stood to it manfully, and continued the Fight, which was for a Space very fierce and hard, as being in the Presence of the King, who was a Beholder, and was to be the Reward of the Victor. At last *Walter Scott* of *Buccleugh* being hurt, his whole Company turned their Backs, there being fourscore of them slain, and having first slain *Andrew Ker* of *Cessford*: *Buccleugh* escaped himself out of the Field. Hereupon began deadly Feud betwixt the *Kers* and *Scotts*, and was renewed and continued divers Years after, and divers Murders and Slaughters followed upon it, amongst which was the Slaughter of Sir *Walter Scott* himself in *Edinburgh*. There my Lord *Fleming* also alighted with *Angus*, and took part in the Conflict; but the Earl of *Lennox* sat still on his Horse by the King, as an indifferent Spectator and Looker on. He being before suspected, but now, by this, a declared Enemy to the *Douglases*, withdrew himself from Court. This fell out about the 18th of July 1526.

AFTER this Attempt, *Angus* perceiving so many evil-affected towards him, entred into parleying with the Earl of *Arran*; and having composed their old Differences, received him to be his Partner and Fellow-Governor in ruling the Country. This did the more incense *Lennox* against them both, and his Anger made them both the more watchful and careful to strengthen themselves against him. The Ground of their Dissention was this; *Lennox* was *Arran's* Sister's Son, as hath been said, and failing

Arran joins with *Angus*, and *Lennox* makes up a Faction against them.

Of the second Archibald,

ing Heirs of his own Body, was to be his Heir, and to succeed as well to the Earldom of *Arran*, as to his Right and Title to the Kingdom of *Scotland* after the King and his Heirs, and there being great Appearance of it, *Lennox* had conceived great Hopes that he should be his Heir, because his Uncle *Arran* had been long married to the Chamberlain *Hume's* Sister, and had no Children by her. She also herself, whether because she was of good Age, or because she had been so long barren, had lost all Hopes to conceive; whereupon her Husband, either by her Advice, or not without her Consent, as is thought, divorceth from her, pretending he had, before he married her, lien with a Kinswoman of hers, that was so near in Blood, as made his Marriage with her incestuous, and so could not be bruikd by him with a good Conscience. So being divorced, he marries one *Beaton*, Daughter to *Creigh* in *Fife*, who was Brother to *Beaton* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. This was a great Stop in the Earl of *Lennox's* Hopes, chiefly concerning the Earldom of *Arran*; for as touching the Crown, the Report went, that the King would entail that to him, out of his own Favour. Neither was his Hope of *Arran* quite given over, if the Divorcement could afterwards be quarrell'd either in Substance or Formality, which Lawyers might readily do in a Subject of this Nature, which is so full of Questions and Doubts. These Things wrought Jealousy, that Contrariety and Alienation of Minds, which soon began Hostility and Hatred. The Diversity of Faction increased it, and it bred and increased the Faction. The King held firm for *Lennox*, or was held firm by him, and sent him many private Letters to many of the Nobility, with whom he dealt, and drew a great Faction. In which being very confident, he assembled them at *Stirling*, where
 was

was Archbishop Beaton and divers other Bishops: There he propounded in plain Terms, the setting of the King at Liberty; which they decreed, and appointed a Day for the Performance and Execution thereof. *Angus* so soon as he had found the Wind thereof, and had begun to smell it out, had written to the Earl of *Arran* to come to *Linlithgow*, where they might meet, and take such Order as was needful. *Arran* was not slow, but gathered his Forces quickly, and kept the Appointment. *Lennox* hearing of it, resolved (though the Day were not yet come that was appointed for his Associates to convene at *Stirling*) to adventure to set upon the *Hamiltons*, before *Angus*, who was at *Edinburgh*, should join with them, with such Power as he had ready about him. The *Hamiltons* having notice of *Lennox's* Intention, advertised the Earl of *Angus* thereof; *Angus* made ready, and addressed himself for the Journey; but he got many Lets and Impediments: The King also did hinder and stay him not a little, for he lay long a bed, pretending Indisposition and Sickishness; he marched slowly, and staid often, and made many Halts by the Way, as being weary, and troubled with a looseness of his Belly, which moved him often to untruss; which he did only for an Excuse, of purpose to stay them. *Angus* perceiving it, and fearing lest he should come too late, leaving his Brother Sir *George* and some few with him to attend the King, made all the Haste he could to join with *Arran* in time. In the mean while *Lennox* was come from *Stirling* straight to *Linlithgow*; and the *Hamiltons* issuing out of the Town, had manned the Bridge, which is a Mile from the Town; and the rest had put themselves in Order of Battle along some small Hills not far from the Bridge. This forced *Lennox* to forsake the passing of the River by the Bridge, and to cross
the

Conflict at
Linlithgow.

the Water at a Ford a little above, near to the Abbey of *Mauchlin*. He exhorted his Men to assail the *Hamiltons* before *Angus* should come to assist them; and they made Haste, but by too much Haste they broke their Ranks, and having the little Hills to climb up, they were out of Wind when they came to Strokes, and withal the Cry arose that *Angus* did approach. So the *Hamiltons* assailing them with long Weapons from a Ground of Advantage, and the *Douglases* also coming upon them on the other hand, *Lennox's* Men were overthrown, being sore wounded. This was done ere Sir *George Douglas* could come to them, who desired greatly to be with his Brother, but was held back by the King's Pretences. It is constantly reported, that Sir *George* seeing the King linger thus, and knowing that he did it of purpose, said to him in great Fury, *It is as much as our Lives are worth, if our Enemies get you from us to Day; which, rather than they shall do, we will hold fast one half of you, and let them pull away the other.* These Words the King never forgot nor forgave; neither would ever hear of pardoning him; when he seemed not to be implacable towards the rest. When the King could not stay *Angus* any longer from going to aid the *Hamiltons*, he sent *Andrew Wood of Largo* to have saved *Lennox's* Life by all Means: But he was slain in the Chace by *Lennox* slain. the Earl of *Arran's* base Son *James Hamilton*, who used the Victory cruelly, and whom afterwards a Groom of *Lennox's* wounded almost to Death, having stabbed him in five or six Places, in revenge of his Lord's Death. He was lamented of his Uncle *Arran* with many Tears; by *Angus* with Sorrow and Sadness of Heart: But above all, the King took his Death ill, seeing his Care to save him not to have succeeded. It is said that when he was coming from

from *Stirling*, *Arran* sent to him, and prayed him not to come forward, but to stay, otherwise that he would force him to fight him, which he desired not to do. To which *Lennox* answered, That he would not stay, but would go and see the King imaugre him, and all that would take his Part. But his Purpose was directly to fight the *Hamiltons*, and not to go to the King; for he could not go to him, and leave them strong behind him, having the *Douglases* before him. There were slain with him the Laird of *Houffton*, and the Master of *Glencairn* was sore wounded, and hardly saved by the Earl of *Angus*, whose Cousin he was, Brother and Sister's Children, as is said above. After the Battle, those that had born Arms against the King were enquired after, and summoned to compear in Judgment; but some of them compounded for Money, some became Dependens of the House of *Angus*, some to the Earl of *Arran*. The Obstinate were pursued by Law, such as the Earl of *Cassils*, who alledged for himself, that he had the King's Letter to show for his Warrant, to do what he had done; whereupon they desisted from further Process against him; which I see no Ground why they should have done upon a private Letter; and as little Reason is there why they could not charge him with the hurting or slaying of some Man, seeing he was in the Battle. It should seem they would not have been so malicious, and vehement against Men, as our Writers give out; or not so pregnant in the inventing of Crimes and Quarrels, as Men are now a Days. *Cassils* was slain by the Sheriff of *Air's* Friends a little after, at the Instigation of *Arran's* Bastard, who had killed *Lennox* at *Linlithgow*, because he stood to justify himself, and refused to become a Depender of the House of *Arran*.

Of the second Archibald,

ran. His Son betook himself to the Protection of the *Douglases*, came to *Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy* (who was then Treasurer to the King) and was kindly received by him, and lovingly entreated, as one, who for his noble Birth and Towardliness, he intended to make his Son-in-law. Now the Earl of *Angus* knowing well that Archbishop *Beaton* was one of the chief stirrers up of the Earl of *Lennox* in this Enterprize against him, remembring also how he had before stirred up *Arran* in the same Manner, and his assisting of him at *Edinburgh*, and many other Times, goes now to *St. Andrews*, takes the Castle by Force, and pillageth it; but could not apprehend the Fox himself, who fled from Hole to Hole, and lurked secretly amongst his Friends. The Queen also, lest she should come into her Husband's Hands, kept herself hid and solitary. These escaped their Search.

AFTER this he went to the Border, where he caused the Principal of every Name to give Pledges and Hostages for their good Behaviour, and keeping of good Order. And first he went into *Liddisdale* with an Army, where they came and yielded themselves to him; and the rest of the Borderers followed their Example. And now had the Earl of *Angus* settled all Things, in all Appearance. His Enemies were overcome on the East Hand at *Melrofs*; on the West at *Linlithgow*; the Earl of *Lennox* was dead, and his Faction dispersed and broken, the Queen's Authority dashed, and Bishop *Beaton* beaten out of the Cock-pit; both put to save themselves by hiding, all husht, and under Hatches; no Parry, no Faction, no Men to make Head against him: An Estate highly esteemed, greatly affected, and much sought for by Men. But as in our Bodies, Fulness of Health hath its own Danger; so in our Estates,

too great Prosperity and Ease are the Fore-runners of Change, which, as Experience doth teach, is even then at the Doors, when there is the least Appearance of it. It fell out just so now, while the *Douglases* were thus secure of all Danger, knowing too well, and leaning too much to their own Strength, no Party to take the King from them, no Place strong enough to keep him in when he was taken, nor to keep them out, no Means to effect either the one or the other; they thereupon grew slothful in attending him, are often abroad about their Business: He finds first the Place, then the Means to escape, then the Party to maintain it, and at last to overthrow them. The Queen, his Mother had the Castle of *Stirling* as a part of her Dowry, which, while she (for Fear of the *Douglases*) hides her self, was left empty and waste, and yet not seized on by them, who were neither so greedy as Men Men would have them to appear, by so much, neither so circumspect as wise Men should have been, to secure themselves, knowing the Fitness of the Place for such a Purpose, the Disposition of the Owner, and the Inclination of the King towards themselves. Now her Fear being somewhat abated, and the Coasts being clear of them, the Queen's Servants returned thither, and furnished it, more for Show, than sufficient Resistance of any Force. The King making wisely choice of it, knowing there was no other Place so strong, pretending the Conveniency of Hunting, even to her, transacts secretly with her, and gives her *Methven* in Exchange for it, with other Lands about *Methven*, no less convenient and profitable for her. And so he had gotten his first Point, a Place of Retreat: The Means how to retire were easy, which was the next. He was in *Falkland*, which was not far from *Stirling*, in a Country

The beginning of a Change with Angus and his counselling.

The King
escapes to
Stirling-
Castle.

not subject to the *Douglases*, nor near their Forces and Power. *Angus* and *Sir George* his Brother, are both absent about Affairs of the Country, and none of theirs we hear of, that were to attend the King, or few and negligent they were, as Men are wont when they are secure. So he goeth from *Falkland* to *Stirling* in the Night, with a few of his familiar Servants, as secretly as he could. Having gained these two Points of them by their Error, there rested the third, without which these Errors had been no Errors to them, nor Advantage to him, they had been of no Effect nor Importance; that was a Party to maintain the Retreat. This is the main Point, and their main Error, the Cause, and the Ground of the other two Errors, that made them slothful in seizing that House, in attending the King, because they laid their Ground there could be no Party in *Scotland*. And *Buchanan* writes concerning the Earl *Bothwell's* Refusal to be Lieutenant against them, that he saw them a little before to be such, as all the rest of *Scotland* were not able to match them. But they took not heed, nor considered, that then the King was with them. However his Mind was against them, he was in their Custody and Power, and if any had been ill affected to them, he could be no Warrant to any Faction, having no Assurance of his Life, which was at their disposing, and therefore he could not be a Head to any: These Considerations being of no small Consequence, as the Event now proves: For he is no sooner gone from them, than he finds a Party against them, now that he could be a Head to a Party. He writes for many of the Nobility; they come all to him: others, upon the first News of his retiring, came, without staying till they were sent for: So that he quickly found himself free, and

out of Danger to be forced. Then, by their Advice, he causeth make a Proclamation, that the *Douglases* abstain from all Administration, and handling of publick Affairs, and that none of them, or their Dependents come within twelve Miles of the King, under pain of Death. This Edict being brought to them, as they were on their Way toward *Stirling*, many of their Friends advised them to go forward, but the Earl himself and Sir *George*, resolved to obey, and perswaded the rest to do so. A dutiful and wise Resolution, if there was not sufficient Power with them to go forward; which others that counselled them to go on, have thought sufficient; and if withall they had resolved to lay down their Necks under the Yoke, and bear whatsoever should be laid upon them: But that they did not resolve to do, as appeareth afterwards; therefore they lost here also the Occasion which might have procured them Peace on better and more equal Terms. They returned to *Linlithgow*, to remain there till they should hear further from Court; this their retiring, and not going forward to *Stirling*, is such an Oversight, as a Man could scarce have looked for at so wise Heads and resolute Hands. But where Ruin is determined, Wisdom is taken from the Wisest, and Hearts from the Hardiest. They will disobey more out of Time hereafter. The King makes use of that Respite of Time, assembleth more and more Forces, summons a Parliament in *September*. They go to *Edinburgh*, and assemble also their Friends more fully. Both Parties aimed more at their own Security, and to defend themselves, than to offend the other; yet they give Place again, and the second of *August* leave the City, which Day the King entred with displayed Banner: From thence, by Entreaty of Friends, he sent Con-

Angus and
the *Douglases*
banished
from the
Court.

Of the second Archibald,

Parliament
at Edinburgh
the 6. of Sep-
tember 1528.

ditions to them, which, if they would obey, there was some Hope shown of Clemency and gentle Dealing towards them. These were, That the Earl of *Angus* himself should be confined beyond *Spey*, and his Brother Sir *George*, together with his Uncle *Archibald* of *Kilspindye*, should go to Prison to the Castle of *Edinburgh*: But they rejected the Conditions, and thereupon were summoned to compear at the Parliament in *Edinburgh*, the sixth of *September*. In the mean while their Offices are taken from them, the Chancellorship from the Earl, which we hear not when it was given to him; Archbishop *Beaton* had been Chancellor in the Governor's Time; he had consented to the Triumvirate, and afterwards had left and forsaken them; then hath it been taken from *Beaton* (as far as we can conjecture) and given to *Angus*. It was now given to *Gavin Dunbar* the King's Pedagogue in Law-matters, one who was no ill Man; but who was thought to be a greater Scholar, than wise and prudent for Government. The Treasurer's Place was taken from *Kilspindie* and given to *Robert Carncross*, a Man better known by his Bags of Money, than for his Virtues. Thus driven to their last Hopes, they labour to hinder the Meeting of the Parliament, by taking of *Edinburgh* where it was to sit, and from whence the King was returned to *Stirling*. For this End they send *Archibald* of *Kilspindye*, with some Troops of Horse, to essay what he could do. A poor Shift if they had gotten it. But the King had prevented them, and sent thither *Robert Maxwell*, who, with his Friends and Dependens, assisted by a great Number of the Commons, excluded them, and with Watch and Ward kept the Town till the King's Return. Hereupon *Angus* retired to his House at *Tantallon*. The Day of the Parliament being

ing come, they were cited, accused, condemned, and forfeited, the Earl, Sir *George, Nilsbindy*, and *Drummond of Carnock*. The main Cause, ^{The Don-} and clearest Evidence given in against them, ^{clases are} was, That the King swore he was ever in Fear of his Life, so long as he was with them. It is strange that his Fear should have seemed a sufficient Cause and Evidence of Forfeiture. Their Absence was no Cause, for they were prohibited to come within twelve Miles of the King, and they had forgotten to release them from that Command and Interdiction. Sir *John Ballandine*, who was then one of their Dependents, and afterwards Justice-Clerk, knew it well, and did freely and courageously protest in open Audience, That nothing done there should be hurtful or prejudicial to the Earl, because he had just Cause of Fear, and so of his Absence, which should be declared in proper Time; which was both an honest Part toward his Patron, and a wise and stout Part in itself. Upon this Protestation the Forfeiture was reduced seventeen Years after this: but for the present it goeth on, and an Act was also made against such as should receive them, that they should be liable to the same Punishment of Forfeiture. Soon after this *William*, Abbot of *Holy-rood-house*, *Angus's* Brother, died through Sicknefs, which he had contracted by Grief and Sorrow for their State. The rest seeing no Appearance of Pardon, make now for open Violence. Who can think but it was as unfit now, as fit to have used it when they stayed from going to *Stirling*? But then they have had Hope of more Favour, which hath marred all their Course. Better late wise than never; Time was driven, but they counted it not lost, because by their so long Patience they had given Proof of their Good-will; now they will shew their Enemies what Power they had then,

and that it was Willingness, not Weakness, made them to forbear doing more than they did: They burn *Cowslaw* and *Cranston*, and daily rode about *Edinburgh* in view of the City; so that it was in a manner besieged, the mean sort suffering for the Faults of the great ones. By this their Proceeding, the Thieves and broken Men of the Borders and elsewhere, whom they had before restrained in their Government, loosed from all Fear of them, waxed bold to come out of their lurking Places, and greatly molested the Country People about them. Many Outrages were committed in many Places; Oppression, Theft, Murders and Robberies. All was imputed to the *Douglases*, and called their Doing by the Courtiers, thinking thereby to please the King well. There was a Ship called the *Martin*, which being loaden with rich Ware, brake about the *Skate-row*, and the common People came and took away the Goods from the Owners; this also was laid upon them, and their Faction and Followers, tho' nothing of it came to their Use, unless it were that some of their straggling Horsemen happening to be there at that Time, might perhaps get their Share with others.

Tantallon
besieged.

ABOUT this Time the King resolves to be siege *Tantallon* Castle in *Lothian*, some sixteen Miles from *Edinburgh*, and, for that Purpose, causes bring Ordnance, Powder and Ball from *Dunbar*, which was then kept by the Servants of the late Governor, the Duke of *Albany*, as a Portion of his Patrimony. There was in *Tantallon* one *Simon Pennange*, with a competent Number of Men, well furnished and provided both of Victuals and Munition. The Earl himself remained at *Billie* in the *Merse*, within his Barony of *Bunkie*, not willing to shut himself up within the Walls of any Strength, having ever in his Mouth this Maxim, which he

he had received from his Predecessors, That it was better to hear the Lark sing than the Mouse cheep. The Castle was well defended for certain Days, none hurt within; many without were wounded with shot from the Castle, and some burnt and scalded with their own Powder, which took Fire unawares, and divers killed. The Besiegers were troubled without by the Horsemen, who assailed them daily at their Trenches; so that seeing no Hope of carrying it, they raised the Siege and retired. In their Retreat they were set upon in the Rear by *Angus's* Horsemen; and one *David Falconer* (a principal Canonier) slain with some other hired Musketeers, and two of the Canons nailed. This the King took so highly, esteeming it an Affront and Scorn put upon him, that he swore openly, that so long as he lived the *Douglases* should never be received into favour. He was then young, and in his hot Blood, and saw not their Worth, or at least looked upon it through the Perspective of an angry Passion; but before he died, he saw it more settledly and clearly, and that their Service was more steadable than all theirs that were now about him. Being come to *Edinburgh*, he adviseth what was next to be done. It was thought fit to keep a Company at *Coldingham*, which needed not to be very great, but only to ly there constantly, to preserve and protect the common People from their Incurfions: But that was to *Bill the Cat*, a good Design, but difficult to prosecute. *Billie*, where *Angus* made his Residence, is within five Miles of *Coldingham*, and all the Country about did favour him; yea, some in that same Town itself did bear him Good-will, The Task to execute this Conclusion, was laid upon the Earl *Bothwell*, who was the most powerful Man in *Lothian*. He refuses it ab-

Of the second Archibald,

olutely, as that which he was not able to perform. So is the King driven to think of another. The Earl of Arran was the greatest in Power and Friendship, but he had slain the Earl of Lennox at Linlithgow, and was in Society with the Douglasses; he doubts with what Zeal or Fidelity he would prosecute the Business. Argyle was in great Account, for warlike and politick Wisdom; but he lay far off, in the North-west Parts of the Kingdom. There is no Remedy, he must be the Man; he is made Lieutenant, and, as our Writers say, by the Lord Hume's Assistance drove Angus out of Scotland. But all our ancient Men who lived in those Days, and were present at those Doings, and Actors in them, say the contrary, That he did no Good, but came to Dunbar, and some of his Companies going before, were set upon at the Paths, and three or fourscore of them slain. Hereupon was made this Rhime in Derision, beginning thus :

*The Earl of Argyle is bound to ride
From the Border of Edgebucklin-brae,
And all his Habergeons him beside.
Each Man upon a Sonke of Straw,
They made their Vow that they would slay, &c.*

*Angus re-
turneth to
England.*

Neither did the Lord Hume take any particular Dealing against him; neither did he leave Scotland, being compelled thereto by Force, as our Traditioners say, but upon the King of England's Desire, who wished him so far to obey and yield to his Prince. He also caused him to render Tantallon up to the King. What Warrant the King of England had, and what Promises by Word (for it stood not with his Honour to give any thing in Writ, that his Clemency might be free and voluntary, and not by Capitulation) our History doth rather
glance

glance at it, than express it in these Words, That the Castle of Tantallon being rendred, the King should under his Hand-writing assure them of the rest of their Petitions. Yet the Castle being rendred, the rest were not, for all that sincerely kept. What he speaks of the rendring of the Castle, our old Men, acquainted with these Mysteries, speak also of the Earl's leaving Scotland, That both were done upon these Promises. They tell also what the Promises were, That they should be received again, pardoned, and get their Peace (the King's Honour being once thus saved by his going out of the Country, and rendring of the Castle) within such a Space as was agreed on. Our Histories also signify no less, by the Exception which it makes in this: The rest (says he) were not sincerely kept, except that Favour was granted to *Alexander Drummond* to return, &c. Then his Return hath been one of the Conditions, seeing it is accepted as one of them that were performed. Neither hath the Condition been, that he alone should return, but that they should be brought home all of them. He signifies also, That *Drummond's* Return was not permitted out of any Respect to the Promise, but at the Request of *Robert Barton*: So that the Exception is no Exception; and so nothing hath been kept. But the King of England, to whom the Promise was made, was not at this Time disposed to exact the Performance of it, and to back his exacting of it with 40,000 Men, as Princes Promises should be urged. Men say he had other Work in Hand, and Business of his own to request for, which was to desire his Nephew *James* to be quiet, and not to trouble his Kingdom, while he made War against the Emperor *Charles*. Yet afterwards, in the Year 1532, he sought it directly among the Conditions of Peace, that

Of the second Archibald,

the *Douglas*, according to his Promise, should be restored. For King *Henry's* own Part, he He and Sir entertained them with all kind of Beneficence *George* Privy and Honour, and made both the Earl and Sir Counsellors *George* of his Privy Council there.

THE King's Anger still continued against them in such sort, that nine Years after, in 1537, he was contented that *Jean Douglas Lady Glamis*, who was *Angus's* Sister, should be accused by false Witnesses, condemned and execute. The Point of her Accusation was, that she, and her Husband, (*Archibald Campbell* then) and her Son, and an old Priest, had gone about to make away the King by Witchcraft. Their Servants were tried and racked, but confessed nothing; the Accuser, *John Lyon*, a Kinsman of her first Husband, when he saw how they were like to be used, and that the House of *Glamis* would be ruined, repenting of what he had done, confessed to the King that he had wronged them; but it did no Good. She was burnt upon the *Castle-hill*, with great Commiseration of the People, in regard of her noble Blood, of her Husband, being in the Prime of her Years, of a singular Beauty, and suffering all, though a Woman, with a Man-like Courage, all Men conceiving that it was not this Fact, but the Hatred the King carried to her Brothers, that had brought her to this End. Her Husband seeking to escape over the Wall of the Castle, fell, and broke his Leg, and so died. Her Son was kept in Prison, because he was so young that the Law could not strike against him. Others were committed to Ward, as *Sir George Hume of Wedderburn*, who was *Angus's* Sister's Son, to *Blackness*, for whom his Mother, *Dame Alison Douglas*, coming often to intreat the King for him, tho' he always used her courteously, and gave her good Countenance (and that almost only to her

her of all their Friends: So that his Language was by way of excusing without Denial, yet she could obtain nothing, till a little before his Death, about the Rode of *Fawla*, when he began to miss their Service, then he set him at Liberty. His Implacability did also appear in his Carriage towards *Archibald* of *Kilspindy*, whom he, when he was a Child, loved singularly well for his Ability of Body, and was wont to call him his *Gray Steill*. *Archibald* being banished into *England*, could not well comport with the Humour of that Nation, which he thought to be too proud, and that they had too high a Conceit of themselves, joined with a Contempt and despising of all others. Wherefore, being wearied of that Life, and remembring the King's Favour of old towards him, he determined to try the King's Mercifulness and Clemency. So he comes into *Scotland*, and taking occasion of the King's hunting in the Park at *Stirling*, he casts himself to be in his way, as he was coming home to the Castle. So soon as the King saw him afar off, ere he came near, he guessed it was he, and said to one of his Courtiers, yonder is my *Gray Steill*, *Archibald* of *Kilspindy*, if he be alive. The other answered, That it could not be he, and that he durst not come into the King's Presence. The King approaching, he fell upon his Knees, and craved Pardon, and promised from thence forward to abstain from meddling in publick Affairs, and to lead a quiet and private Life. The King went by, without giving him any Answer, and trotted a good round Pace up the Hill. *Kilspindy* followed, and, tho' he wore on him a Secret, or Shirt of Mail for his particular Enemies, was as soon at the Castle-gate as the King. There he sat him down upon a Stone without, and entreated some of the King's Servants for a Cup of

Of the second Archibald,

Drink, being weary and thirsty : But they fearing the King's Displeasure, durst give him none. When the King was sat at his Dinner, he asked what he had done, what he had said, and whither he had gone ? It was told him that he had desired a Cup of Drink, and had gotten none. The King reproved them very sharply for their Discourtesy, and told them, That if he had not taken an Oath that no *Douglas* should ever serve him, he would have received him into his Service, for he had seen him sometime a Man of great Ability. Then he sent him Word to go to *Leith*, and expect his further Pleasure. Then some Kinsman of *David Falconer*, the Canonier that was slain at *Tantallon*, began to quarrel with *Archibald* about the Matter, wherewith the King shewed himself not well pleased when he heard of it. Then he commanded him to go to *France* for a certain Space, till he heard further from him. And so he did, and died shortly after. This gave Occasion to the King of *England* (*Henry VIII.*) to blame his Nephew, alledging the old Saying, *That a King's Face should give Grace.* For this *Archibald* (whatsoever were *Angus's* or *Sir George's* Fault) had not been principal Actor of any thing, nor no Counseller nor Stirrer-up, but only a Follower of his Friends, and that noways cruelly disposed. He caused also execute *Sir James Hamilton* of *Evendale*, for divers Reasons : But that which incensed him most, was his Correspondence and secret trafficking and meeting with the banished *Douglases*, especially with *Sir George*, whom he met with in the *Parkhead*; as the King was informed : There was no Man that he could hear had but received them into his House, but he caused apprehend, and execute the Rigour of the Law upon them. He caused the Laird of *Blaskader* bring in

John

Kilspindie
dieth in
France.

John Nisbet of the Spittel, and made him to be executed to Death, for receiving, as was alledged at least, the Earl of *Angus* into his House. These many Executions, proceeding from many Reports and Delations given to him, bred great Suspicion in his Mind, all the Woods seemed full of Thieves; many were put to Death for the *Douglases*; this was a Token that they had many Favourers; many were offended by these Executions, and so many Ill-willers, by being offended. So his Suspicion against the Nobility was daily increased; his Jealousy grows, Cares multiply, his Mind is disturbed, which would not suffer him to sleep sound, but troubled his Head with Dreams and Fancies.

IN the mean Time the Wars began with *England*, by mutual IncurSIONS on the Borders. The King sent *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntly* to the Border to repress the *English*: But they seeing his Forces so small, came forward to have burnt *Jedburgh*. The Lord *Hume* hearing of their Intention, went and lay in their Way. The Earl of *Angus* had been sent down to the Border by the King of *England*, to wait for occasion to do something against *Scotland*; and was now with these *English*. He dissuaded them from fighting, and told them, That the Lord *Hume* would not flee, nor his Men leave him, and that they would all die at his Feet. But they would needs fight and were overthrown. The Earl of *Angus* himself was almost taken; for he was caught about the Neck, and rid himself again with his Dagger, and so escaped. There were some slain, more taken, all scattered and chased. The King was so glad hereof, that he gave the Lands of the

Hirfell to Sir *Andrew Ker* of *Littledean*, for bringing the first News thereof: But he that was the chief Actor, the Lord *Hume* got no thing.

Hirfell
Lands gi-
ven to *As-*
drew Ker.

Fawla.

thing. This was at *Haldenrig*. Then was the Rode of *Fawla*, where the Nobility did flatly refuse to fight, and suffered the *English* to retire, and escape without Battle or Skirmish. The King being there in Person, was so enraged thereat, that he burst forth into open railing against them, calling them Cowards and Beasts, that were not worthy of their Places or Predecessors; and withall told them, That he should bring home those that durst and would fight, meaning the Earl of *Angus* and his Friends. Then followed on the Neck of this the Defeat at *Sollom-moss*, where *Oliver Sinclair* being deserted by the Nobility, was fain to fly, and so lost the Day, and many were taken Prisoners; many also yielded themselves to the *English*. The King, who was not far off when he heard of it, was wonderfully moved, having his Mind distracted with Indignation, Anger, Grief and Sorrow, now thinking how to be avenged on them that had dealt thus traiterously with him; then of new Preparation for the Wars, and how it should be managed. For which he saw now there was but one Way left, which was to bring home the Earl of *Angus*, upon what ever Terms; seeing at last what a Subject he had thrust from him, and repenting him, said, he should bring him home that would take Order with them also. But it was too late, for his Death ensuing shortly after, hindred the Execution of that Purpose. He died the thirteenth of *December* 1542, leaving one only Daughter, *Mary*, behind him, a Child of five Days old.

King *James*
V. dieth.

BUT although he lived not to effect his Determination, yet he gave them an honourable Testimony of their Worth, and withal made a Confession of the Wrong he had done to them, and gave them a clear Absolvitor from
all

all former Imputation. And so for their Part they rest satisfied with it, and seek no other. The King was dead, who had purposed to bring them home; his Will is enough to them; they stand not on Ceremonies; they come home now unsent for. There were taken Prisoners at the *Sollom-moss*, seven Earls and Lords, four and twenty others of inferior, but good Place and Quality. When King *Henry* of *England* had triumphed a while over them, causing to lead them from the Tower of *London* to Court through *Cheapside* Street, the 20th of *December*, upon *St. Thomas's* Day, he rebuked them as Breakers of Covenant, by a long Harangue of his Chancellor, who magnified the King's Mercy, who did, said he, remit much of the Rigour he might justly have used against them. After this they had some more Freedom; and when the News of the King's Death was come, he dealt kindly with them, and told them his Intention; which was to have their King's Daughter married to his Son Prince *Edward*, that so the Nations of *England* and *Scotland* might be joined together by that Alliance; for affecting of which Match, he takes their Promise to favour his Design, and to set it forward at Home as far as they might, without Damage to their Country, or Reproach and Infamy to themselves. So, having first taken Pledges and Hostages of them at *Newcastle*, by the Duke of *Norfolk*, for their Return, in case the Peace were not agreed on, he sent them home to *Scotland* the first of *January* 1543. With these returned our *Douglases*, the Earl and Sir *George*, after fifteen Years Exile, and were received of all with great Joy and Gratulation. Only they were not welcome to the Cardinal. They had been ever at Variance; they ran divers Courses in Policy; he suspected their Religion, especially Sir *George's*.

He

Hamilton
Governor.

He knew they would not approve nor ratify the King's Testament which he had forged, wherein he was made Protector and Governor, with three Noblemen to be his Assessors: He doubted not but that they would oppose him in the Parliament; and therefore here he found Means to be chosen Governor before their Return: Yet his Fraud was detected before they came home, and he debouted, and put from that Authority. In his Place *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran* was chosen, as being the Man to whom it properly belonged, as next Heir, and best beloved, partly because they had a good Opinion of his towardsly Disposition, and that he was not averse from the reformed Religion, whereof he willingly read the Controversies, partly because they hated the Archbishop *Beaton* and his Priest's Cruelty, which put every Man in fear of their Government. That Business was settled ere they came home. The next Point was the Marriage of the young Queen, which they were to set forward with *England*. The Queen-Mother, and the Cardinal, and the whole Faction of the Priests, oppose this Way with all their Might and Power. But they prevailed not; and the Cardinal, because he troubled all, and would suffer nothing to be done orderly, he was shut up in a Chamber, till the Matters were concluded, and Pledges promised to be given to the *English* Ambassador *Sir Ralph Sadler* for Performance. Ambassadors also were sent into *England* to treat on the Conditions. They were the Earl of *Glencairn*, *Sir George Douglas*, *Sir William Hamilton* of *Machan*, and the Secretary of State. These remained four Months in *England*, agreed at last; and concluded all Articles and Conditions: But, in their absence, the Cardinal was set at Liberty, who troubled all, gathered a Contribution of the Clergy, and

and what by bribing, what by other Practices
 used by him and the Queen, turns the Nobility quite another way. When those that had
 been sent into *England* were returned, and
 found things in this State, they were much
 grieved at it, and laboured to recall Things,
 and to perswade them to keep their Promise
 made to King *Henry*. To move them here-
 to, Sir *George Douglas* spoke to them very ear-
 nestly, and told them the Apologue of the Ass,
 which a King did love so dearly, that he had
 a great Mind and Desire to have her to speak;
 and having dealt with divers Physicians to
 make her to speak, they told him it was a
 thing impossible, and against Nature: But
 he being impatient, and not enduring to
 have his Desire crossed, slew them, because
 they told him the Truth. At last he trying
 about what others could do, one, who was
 made wise by their Example, being required
 to do it, he undertook it; but withal he
 shewed him, that it was a great Work, and
 would be very chargeable: The King being
 set upon it to have it done, told him he
 should have what Allowance he pleased, and
 bad him spare for no Charges; and that be-
 sides he would reward him liberally. The
 Physician told him that it would prove also
 a long Cure, and could not be done in a
 Day; ten Years were the fewest that could
 be allotted to it. The King considered of
 it, and was contented to allow him that time
 for performing of it; and so they agreed;
 and the Physician began to fall to work a-
 bout his Ass. His Friends hearing of it,
 came to him, and asked him what he meant,
 to take in hand that which could not be per-
 formed in Nature. He smiled, and said un-
 to them, I thought you had been wiser than
 to ask me such a Question: If I had, says
 he,

Sir George
 Douglas's
 Speech con-
 cerning
 marrying
 with Eng-
 land.

Of the second Archibald,

' he, refused to take it in hand, he had put
 ' me to Death presently, now I have gain-
 ' ed ten Years time; before which be expired,
 ' who can tell what may happen: The King
 ' may die, the Afs may die, I my self may
 ' die; and if any of these happen, I am freed.
 ' In the mean time I shall be in good Estate,
 ' Wealth, Honour, and the King's Favour.
 ' Even so, says Sir George, stands the Case
 ' with us at this Time: If we refuse and leap
 ' back from the Conditions that are propound-
 ' ed and agreed on, we enter into present War,
 ' for which we are very unfit and ill provid-
 ' ed. If we embrace them, we gain Time,
 ' we shall enjoy Peace and Quierness during
 ' the Queen's Childhood, and before that be
 ' expired, Prince *Edward* may die, our Queen
 ' may die, King *Henry* may die, or the Par-
 ' ties, when they come to Age, may refuse
 ' one another, or then perhaps, as things may
 ' fall out, it may be thought the best way by
 ' us all.' But he could not perswade them to
 it, the Queen-mother and the Cardinal, the
 Popish and politick Faction standing for *France*,
 and drawing all to that End, had so wrought
 the Matter, that there was no Place left to
 any wholesome Counsel. These two for
 strengthening of their Party, had sent to *France*,
 and moved that King to send home *Matthew*
 Earl of *Lennox*, a Competitor and Counter-
 poise to the House of *Hamilton*. He came,
 being put in hope of the Queen's Marriage,
 and to be made Governor; but when he saw
 himself deluded, and *Beaton* preferred to the
 Government, in effect upon Agreement of *Ar-
 ran* and the Cardinal, wherein *Arran* had re-
 nounced the controverted Heads of Religion,
 and addicted himself fully to the Queen and
 Cardinal, to be ruled by them, he forsook
 them, and so did also the Governor's chief
 Friends

Lennox
 comes
 home out
 of *France*.

Friends leave him, and turn to *Lennox*. And now *Lennox* had made a strong Party against the Governor and the Cardinal; but at last he was drawn to come to a Parley with them, first at *Edinburgh*, and then at *Linlithgow*, where finding that they intended to intrap him, he fled in the Night, first to *Glasgow*, then to the Castle of *Dumbarton*. About this Time the *Hamiltons* and *Douglases* were reconciled: And for further Assurance of sincere and firm Friendship, *Sir George Douglas* and *Alexander Cunningham* Master of *Glencairn* were given as Pledges (the one for his Brother, and the other for his Father) to the Governor *Hamilton*, upon Promise to be released within a few Days; but they were kept till the *English Army* came. *Angus* himself also and the Lord *Maxwell* going to mediate a Peace betwixt the Governor and *Lennox*, (a dutiful Part of a Nobleman, and of a good Patriot) was retained, and both sent out at a Back-door at *Glasgow*, to *Hamilton*, while their Followers did wait for them at the ordinary Fore-gate of the Governor's Lodging. *Angus* was sent afterwards to *Blackness*, and kept there a close Prisoner. Thus were both he and his Brother in the Hands of their Enemies; neither did their Wisdom or Experience, the Examples of their Predecessors, or their own Maxims and Rules, save them from being entrapped. But who can keep himself from Deceit? What Wisdom was ever able to do it? We heard before in the Lord *Hume* Chamberlain, how he was caught, and therefore no wonder, though the young *Douglases*, put to Death in *Edinburgh-Castle*, were deceived. It is wrong to impute it to want of Foresight, as these two, who were at other times wary enough, may witness. They may thank God more than their own good guiding, if they escape with Life. But that God doth work it out, where their

Wisdom

*Angus and
Sir George
made Pri-
soners.*

Wisdom failed: He sends in the *English* Navy, which was bound for *Bologne*, under the Command of the Earl of *Hartford*. Some say, that they were so directed by King *Henry* to relieve the Earl and his Brother; some, that it was to revenge the rejecting of his Affinity. However it was the Mean and Occasion of their releasing: For having landed at *Leith* unlooked for, the Governor and Cardinal were forced to fly out of *Edinburgh*, which they burnt, being abandoned by them, and the Citizens being most of them absent about their Traffick. The Governor, either required to do so by the Earl of *Hartford*, who threatened to destroy more of the Country after the same manner if he refused,

They are released again. or of his own Motion, so to regain their Faithful Service of their Followers, set *Angus*, *Maxwell*, *Glencairn* and Sir *George* all of them at Liberty. Their Wisdom saved them not from being caught, but their Worth releaseth them, either in the Judgment of King *Henry*, if it were his Request, or in the Estimation of their Enemies, if it came merely of themselves, who saw how steadable, yea how necessary their Favour was to them. That which had brought them home if King *James* had lived, procures their Liberty from this Governor now when the King is dead. Envy committed them, true Worth brings them out of Prison. So it is

Lennox goes seen ere long: For *Lennox* being forsaken by to *England*, the *French*, and his Partners overthrown by the *Hamiltons*, he fled into *England*, and was well received and entertained by King *Henry*,

Marries Lady Margaret Douglas. who gave him also his Sister's Daughter by the Earl of *Angus*, Lady *Margaret Douglas*, to Wife. On her he begat *Henry* Lord *Darnly*, who was married to Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*. He sought to have married the Queen Dowager, he is rejected; but he fares better, and comes to reign in both the Realms by his Posterity.

sterity Let Men look on it, and see the Deepness of Providence, and learn not to distrust in whatsoever Strait, seeing the worst doth often occasion the best; for even in Exile, being condemned and forfeited, he was laying the Foundation of this Return.

OF these Dissentions at home the foreign E-<sup>The Govern-
nor and An-
gus at Col-
dingham,</sup> nemy takes Advantage; the King of England sends an Army to Scotland, burns Jedburgh and Kelso, takes Coldingham and fortifies the Abbey and Steeple thereof. Thither goes the Governor Hamilton with 8000 Men in Winter, and batters the Steeple one whole Day and Night, all the Company standing all that while in Arms. The next Day he took Horse and went to Dunbar with all the Speed he could, accompanied only with a few of his most familiar Friends, without acquainting the Nobility or Army with his Departure. What it was that moved him thereto is uncertain, whether it were some Rumour of the Enemy's approaching, or that he feared lest his own Army (whom he had offended many ways) should have delivered him into the Hands of the English. This troubled them all so much the more, because they knew not the Reason of it. Wherefore they began to advise what was next to be done: Some thought it best that every Man should go whither he would, and leave the Ordnance a Prey to the Enemy; others thought it was better to charge them double, and so to break them, that they might not be useful to the Enemy. Thus is the Case brought to an Exigence: This is the Place for the Earl of Angus to shew himself to be a Douglas of the right Stamp; so he doth. He rejects both these Ways as dishonourable, and exhorts them, that they would not add this gross Error in War to their shameful Flight. But when he could not perswade them either by Reason or Authority, he cries out aloud, that they might all hear,

Of the second Archibald,

hear, For my part (saith he) I had rather die honourably than live with Shame, though with never so much Riches and Ease. Ye that are my Friends and Companions in Arms, do what you think best, but I shall either bring home this Ordnance, or shall not bring home myself alive; and one and the same Day shall end both my Life and my Honour. Having spoken thus, he commanded them to go on with the Ordnance; and he with his Company, and some few more that staid with him for Shame, marched after, to keep off the English that pursued them, and so brought them safely to Dunbar. Then turning him to the Master of the Ordnance, Take them there to thee, (saith he) better thus than either broken or left behind. A sober and gentle Reproof to those that had abandoned him, yet such as might put them in mind of their Fault.

Sir Ralph
Ivers and Sir
Brian Laiton's
Expedition.

THE Honour was his, but the Fault (more observed often times) redounded to the discouraging of the Country, and emboldening of the English, which gave new Occasion of stirring up in him the ancient Virtues proper to the Name, Valour and Love of his Country. Sir Ralph Ivers and Sir Brian Laiton had made divers Inroads into Scotland, in the Merse, Tiviotdale and Lauderdale with good Success, finding no Man to oppose or make head against them. The Inhabitants of those Places had for the most part yielded and taken on the Badge of England, the Red Cross, or at least kept themselves in strong Places, in safety from the Enemy. They esteemed all conquered, and for that which rested, they made account to conquer all unto Forth. So to Court they go and sue to the King for a Reward of their Service, the enlarging of his Dominions. The Duke of Norfolk, who had made War in Scotland divers times, and knew the Fashion of the Country, how easy a Matter it was to make the Commons, when they want-

ed a Head in time of civil and intestine Dissensions, to yield to any Conditions, but withal knew also that they would presently cast off the Yoke so soon as they found any to lead them into the Field; he perswades the King to bestow upon them, for their Reward, all the Land that they had conquered; and to encourage them to go on, promiseth unto them all the Land that they could conquer more thereafter. They come to the Borders full of Hopes, and increase their Forces by the Addition of 3000 hired Soldiers, with Intention to go on with their Conquest. This did greatly grieve such Scots as remained true Scots indeed. The Flight from *Coldingham* had discouraged them; they could look for no Good from the Governor. But he who had his Rose Garland unstained there must be the Man to do the Turn here also. *Angus* had large Possessions in the *Merse* and *Tiwiotdale*; therefore he had his particular Interest, and could not so easily leave his Lands for a Prey to the Enemy, nor suffer so great an Indignity in publick, and Reproach to his Country. Being moved with both these Considerations, he goeth to the Governor, and layeth before him the Greatness of the Danger, and how he did suffer in his own Reputation for the Business at *Coldingham*, and would now suffer more, if he sat still and did nothing at this Time: Wherefore he exhorteth him to take some Course for the Safety of the Country, and to repair his own Honour. The Governor bewails his own Estate and Condition, that he was not able to do any thing, being deserted by the Nobility, whereof he complained heartily. *Angus* replied, and told him it was his own Fault; "For they (*said he*) would willingly hazard and bestow both their Lives and Fortunes for the Defence of their Country, but you condemn their Counsel, and have

Angus's
Speech to
the Governor.

Of the second Archibald,

“ have given yourself over to be guided by a
 “ Company of Priests, who are unfit to go a-
 “ broad to the Wars, and are seditious at
 “ home; being free from Peril themselves,
 “ they live on the Fruits of other Mens La-
 “ bours like Drones, abusing and spending all
 “ upon their own Pleasures. From hence doth
 “ spring this Suspicion and Jealousy betwixt
 “ you and the Nobility, that none of you doth
 “ believe or trust other; which is the Bane of
 “ all Actions and hindreth the archieving of a-
 “ ny Matter of Moment. But if you will ap-
 “ ply yourself to them, and consult with them,
 “ who will not spare to spend their Lives in
 “ the Execution of Things, I do not distrust
 “ but as honourable Acts may be performed
 “ by us now, as have been done at any time
 “ by our Predecessors. But if by Sloth and
 “ Negligence ye suffer the Enemy thus to en-
 “ croach by Piece-meal, he will at last force
 “ us either to yield to him, or forsake the
 “ Country; of which two it is hard to say
 “ which is the most miserable and shameful
 “ Condition. As for us two, I know we are
 “ traduced by our Enemies; they accuse me
 “ of betraying my Country, and you of Cow-
 “ ardice: But if you will resolve throughly
 “ and soundly to do that now, which you
 “ must needs do some time, it shall not be a
 “ flourished Speech and painted Words that
 “ shall confute their Calumnies, but the Flou-
 “ rish of Arms and a Pitched Field.” The
 Governor considering the Truth and honour-
 able Counsel given him, promised to follow
 his and the rest of the Nobility’s Advice. Here-
 upon Proclamation is made and sent into all
 the Provinces about, commanding the Nobili-
 ty to repair to the Governor with all the Haste
 they could, wheresoever he should happen to
 be. There came not above 300 Horse, with
 these

these they march towards *England*; and by the Way some few of *Lothian* and some of the *Merse* join with them. So they come to *Melrose* upon *Tweed*, where they intended to stay and wait for the rest that were coming. The *English* were come to *Jedburgh* before, and now being advertised of the small Number of the *Scottish* Army, they march towards *Melrose*, having 5000 Men in their Army, in great Confidence to defeat so small a Number as was with the Governor, who besides that they were so few, were also wearied with their Journey. The *Scots* had Notice of their coming, and thereupon retire to the next Hills, where they might with Safety espy what Course the Enemy would take. The *English* frustrate of their Hope, which was to have surprized them, stay about the Town and Abbey of *Melrose*, which had been spoiled not long before, to see what more Spoil they could light on, until it were Day; for this was in the Night-time. As soon as it was Day they began to march back towards *Jedburgh*, and the *Scots* (to whom had now joined *Norman Lestly* with 300 *Fisemen*, and *Sir Walter Scott* of *Buccleugh* with a very few of his *Domesticks*) encountered them by the Way. Both Armies alighted from their Horses and fought on Foot. The *English* confiding in their Number, and hoping with a few Hours Travel to purchase Honour and Riches, with peaceable and quiet Possession of the Lands that were granted to them by their King's Gift, fought very valorously. They had divided their Army into three Battles; and seeing the *Scots* Grooms, (who rode up the Hill with their Masters Horses, which they had put from them) they supposing they had been the *Scottish* Army flying, made great Haste to overtake them: And so ere they were aware they were hard upon the *Scottish* Battle, which stood in Array

Of the second Archibald,

in the Valley at the Foot of the Hill, unseen till now. At the first Encounter their Foreward was beaten back upon the Middle, and both together upon the Rear-ward; so that their Ranks being broken, and all in Confusion, they were constrained to fly, and the *Scots* following hard upon them in gross, slew them down right without Resistance. At Night when the *Scots* were returned from the Chace, every Man repairing to his Colours, they found but two of their own slain; and of the Enemy (besides Sir *Ralph Ivers* and *Brian Laton*) 200, or, as others say, 800; amongst whom there were divers Gentlemen of good Note and Quality. There were taken Prisoners 1000, or, as others, 2000, with all their Baggage which had been left at *Melrose*; of which there were 80 of good Birth and Quality. It was no little Furtherance to the Victory, the Advantage which the *Scots* had of the Sun going down, and so beating full in the Eyes of the Enemy, as also of the Wind that blew the Smoke of the Powder on their Faces likewise, so that they were blinded two Ways. They had also marched so fast to overtake the *Scots*, that they were quite out of Breath almost ere they came to Strokes; and when they came to them, at the first joining, the *Scots* that were on their Side fled without fighting. It is said that the Earl of *Angus* was so resolute and void of Fear, that when they were going to join Battle, he perceiving a Heron fly over their Heads, cried out aloud, *O that I had my white Gose-hawk here, we should all yoke at once.* The Honour of the Victory was wholly given to him, and the Profit came to the Governor. But the more Honour that *Angus* got at home of his own Countrymen, the more Hatred he had of the Enemy the *English*. King *Henry* blamed him, saying he was ungrateful, and vowed to be avenged of him for

for it : As if any Gratitude could bind a Man to betray his Country, or any Benefit ty him to omit his Duty towards it. *Angus* had never learned such Gratitude of his Predecessors, nor could his noble Heart stoop to such Mercenariness. And as for his Threatnings, he looked upon them with the same Courage and Resolution. " Is our Brother-in-law offended. (says *he*) that I am a good Scotsman, because I have revenged the defacing of the Tombs of my Ancestors at *Melrose* upon *Ralph Ivers*? They were better Men than he, and I ought to have done no less. And will he take my Life for that? Little knows King *Henry* the Skirts of *Kirnetable*; I can keep myself there from all his *English* Host."

THE News of this Victory being come to *France*, the King sent Monsieur *De Lorge* Earl of *Montgomery* into *Scotland* with 3000 Foot and 500 Horse, to assist against *England*. He gave him also Commission to bestow the Order of the Cockle (or *St. Michael*) on the Governor, *Angus*, *Huntly* and *Argyle*, which he did accordingly. *De Lorge* arrived about the 4th or 5th of *July* 1545, and moved the Governor to assemble some Power of Men, about 15,000, which were mustered at *Haddington*. From thence they went to the Borders, and encamped over against *Wark*, an *English* Castle upon *Tweed*: But they did nothing to any purpose. Hereupon the Earl of *Montgomery* returns into *France* the rest of that Year; and the next following, with a good part of the Year 1547, there was nothing done abroad or at home, save that the Cardinal was busied in causing execute such as were of the reformed Religion, whereupon followed his own tragical Death; and the *French* Gallies coming, besieged *St. Andrews* Castle, and carried away the Authors of the Cardinal's Slaughter into *France*. The Earl of *Angus* hath

Of the second Archibald,

had no hand in all these Broils, for he is never mentioned in any of them: Only his natural Son *George* is said to have gotten the Ab-bacy of *Aberbrothock*; but then, if he got it, he might have been called *Abbot*, and not *Postulat* or *Postulant*, which implies, that he was ever asking it, but got it not.

Occasion of
Pinky-field.

THE same Year, in *August* 1547, King *Henry* of *England* dying, his Son *Edward* (a Child of some eight or nine Years of Age) succeeded, and his Uncle the Earl of *Hereford* was created Duke of *Somerset*, and made Protector of *England*. He levied two Armies to come against *Scotland*, one by Sea, another by Land, in which he came himself in Person, and with him the Earl of *Warwick*. It contained 18,000 Men. He pretended for the Cause of his coming, the Performance of the Marriage betwixt the King his Nephew and the young Queen of *Scots*; together with the Observation of the Articles agreed upon with the *Scottish* Nobility in the Treaty of Peace with King *Henry*. The Governor was mightily perplexed herewith. He had no foreign Aid, and he distrusted his Countrymen at home. Notwithstanding he causeth it to be proclaimed, that they should assemble themselves to resist the common Enemy. They had their Rendezvous at *Edinburgh*, and there came thither to the Number of 30,000 Men. From thence they march to *Musleburgh*, which is seated at the Mouth of the River of *Esk* in *Lothian*, some four Miles from *Edinburgh*. The *English* lay at *Preston* within two Miles, and their Fleet sailed along the Coast, still in the View of the Land Army, and ready to second or succour it. The Protector looking down from *Carberry-hill*, and perceiving the *Scottish* Army to be greater than he had expected, in regard of the civil Discord and Dis-sention that was amongst them, called a Council

cil of War, to advise about the Battle; and in the mean time he sends a Letter to the Governor, to try if things could be taken away without Blood. The Sum of the Letter was, That he was come to crave the Performance of the Marriage, and the Observance of the Conditions agreed unto by the *Scots*: If they would not yield to that, yet if they would but promise not to enter into Terms of Marriage with any other foreign Prince, nor carry her out of the Country till she were come to Years of Discretion to choose her own Husband, they should return in Peace, and make Satisfaction for any Damage their Army had done. This was very reasonable; but it should have been treated of before they came from home, and rather by Ambassadors than in the Field and Camp. It hath never been the Cause of their coming with an Army, but rather Hope that no Head could have been made against them, in respect of the Diffention for Religion and other Divisions, which perswaded them to come: Now the Sight of an Army, which was a sufficient Party for them, had taught them Wisdom and Moderation in their Conditions. If the Governor could also have moderated his Hope of Victory, which arose from his Confidence in the Number of his Men, the Bargain had been agreed on, and the Business had ended without Blood: But his Council of War (his base Brother the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, *George Durie* Abbot of *Dunfermline*, *Archibald Beaton* and *Hugh Rigge*) puffed him up with idle Hope of a sure Victory. So the Letter is suppressed, and Preparation made for Battle. The Armies were thus ordered: The *English* were divided into three Battles; whereof *Warwick* led the Van-guard, together with *Sir Francis Brian*, who commanded 800 light Horsemen which were in the Wings. The Pro-

rector himself commanded in the Mid-battle, having with him Sir *Peter Mewtas* with 600 Musketeers, and *Jamboas* a Spaniard with 1000 Horse with Carabins. The Rear was conducted by the Lord *Dacres*, to whom was joined Sir *Richard Manners* with 600 light Horsemen. The Men at Arms, and Demy-lances, were commanded by the Lord *Gray*. The *Scottish* Army was also tripartite, of which *Angus* had the Van-guard; to whom were joined *Kyle*, *Carriek* and *Cunningham*, with *Stirlingshire* and *Strathedrn*, to the Number of 10,000 in all. The like Number was with the Governor in the Middle-ward, and as many with the Earl *Huntly* in the Rear. The *English* had resolved on a fair Retreat towards *Berwick*, thinking it not fit to hazard a Battle upon such Disadvantage in the Number of Men; and not being able to stay without fighting, for want of Vivers, which they could not bring in out of the Country by foraging, in regard of the Nearness of the Enemy. In the mean time they perceive *Angus* with the Van-guard coming marching up the Hill against them: He made no great Haste at the first, knowing they could not stay long, thinking it better to assail them in their Retreat. But the Governor sent him Word to advance, and yet for all that he marched but leisurely, till he sent to him again and commanded him to mend his Pace; assuring him that he and *Huntly* should be hard at his Hand to support him. Then he marched so fast that the *English* beholding them from the Hill, believed they had been all on Horseback: Wherefore the Lord *Gray* was sent with his Men at Arms, and Demy-lances, on barbed Horses, to stay them; and (if he could) to break their Ranks. The *Scotts* were close joined together, as their Manner is, and carried long Spears, not unlike the *Macedonian Phalanx*.

Angus

Angus encourages them, exhorts them to fight manfully, and adviseth them to kill the *Horses* by pricking them in the *Belly*; for they were armed in the *Counter*. These *Men* (said he) shall be our *Prey* if ye do so. They followed his *Counsel*, charged the *Enemy* fiercely, and kept their *Ranks* so whole and close, that 200 of the *English* were brought to the *Ground* and killed; the rest retired to their *Companies*. The *Protector* commands the *Lord Gray* to charge again; but he answered, that he might as well command him to run against the *Walls of Bologne*; for it was as impossible to break through the *Scots Ranks* as to break through a *Brick-wall*. Hereupon the *Protector* resolved either to retire, or fly as they could, and called for some *Scots* in his *Army* who knew the *Ways*, to be their *Guides*. One of these was named *Thomas Lorrain*, a *Tenant* to the *Laird of Redbraes* in the *Merse*, of whom many have often heard this *Report*. The *Earl of Warwick* adviseth to try another *Way*; he causeth *Jambos* the *Spaniard* with his *Carabins* to set upon them in *Flank*: Hereupon they, lest they should break their *Phalanx*, turned softly towards him, from the right ascending of the *Hill*, which *Way* they were in before. The *Governor* with his *Mid-battle* seeing them declining from the straight *Way* which led to the *Enemy*, and which they had been in before, supposed they had fled, and so brake their own *Ranks*, and fled first themselves. Huntly with his *Rear* followed the *Governor's* Example, and fled likewise. The *Van-guard* thus destitute of all *Support*, was overthrown, and most of them all killed. The *English Ships* had greatly annoyed the *Scots Rear* with *Shot* from the *Sea*; for there was one *Galley* and two *Pinnaces* that came so near to the *Shore*, that they reached the *Enemy* with their *Ordnance*; and

Defeat at
Pinky.

Of the second Archibald,

Lochinvar was slain by one of their Shots. This the Governor and *Huntly* alledged for their not coming to succour the Van-guard after the first Charge, because their Men (chiefly the Highlanders) refused to go with them, being so troubled from the Ships. There were slain in this Battle a great Number, and those of the Flower of the *Scottish* Nobility; amongst whom were the Masters of *Erskine*, *Graham*, *Methven*, *Ogilvy*, *Livingston*, and *Ross*; the Lords *Fleming* and *Glencairn*; the Laird of *Lochleven*, and Sir *George Hume* of *Wedderburn*. The Earl of *Angus's* Brother Sir *George*, and *Glenbervy* were commanded to keep themselves on Horseback and ride about the Companies, to exhort them and keep them in Order. It was so much the more easy for them to fly, yet *Glenbervy* was hardly pursued for the Space of four Miles, being taken for the Earl of *Angus*, because he rode on a Pye-bald Horse that was known to be the Earl's. *Angus* himself escaped and came that Night to *Calder*, very heavy and sorrowful for the Loss of the Battle and of his Friends. Many fled to the Castle of *Dalkeith*, amongst whom was *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton*, afterwards Regent of *Scotland*, and *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, Brother to Sir *George Hume* that was slain in the Field. The Castle was besieged by the *English*, and defended a while, but wanting Provision of Victuals for such a Number of Men as had fled thither, and having no Hope of any Relief to come to them against a victorious Army, it was rendred, and these fore-named made Prisoners.

THE Earl of *Angus* complained heavily that he had been thus abandoned by the Governor and *Huntly*, and laid the Blame on them of the Loss of the Day, and of his so many dear Kinsmen and Friends, especially to the Queen-Mother,

Mother, whom he went to visit at *Stirling*. She seemed to be much grieved therewith, but was thought not to be discontented that the *Hamiltons* had suffered this Disgrace, and their Pride and Authority was thus abated, which made for the setting forward of her Project, which was to wring the Government out of their Hands, and wind in herself into that Place; as also to bring in the *Frenchmen*, under the Pretext that the Country was not able to maintain the War against the *English*, who had fortified *Inchkeith*, *St. Columb's Inch* in *Forth*, *Brughtie* on *Tay*, *Haddington* on *Tyne*; at *Lauder* and *Roxburgh* built Forts, and taken the Castles of *Hume* and *Fastcastle*. The *French* were sent for, and came into *Scotland* at her Request: These Places were all regained by their Assistance; the young *Queen Mary* was conveyed into *France*, to be married to the Dauphin, *Francis II.* afterwards. Then the *Queen-Mother* dealt with the Governor to demit his Place, which he did at last, and she was substitute into it as her Daughter's Deputy, having *Monsieur D'Oselle*, a *Frenchman*, for her Counsellor and Adviser in all Affairs. This was done in Parliament the 10th of *April 1555*. All this while we hear nothing of the Earl of *Angus*, save at the Siege of *Haddington*, where, when the Walls were battered and made assaultable by a sufficient Breach, the *French* who were there refusing to enter the Breach, because they being far from home, could not easily repair their Loss of Men, the Earl of *Angus* moved with Indignation hereat, left them and went to *Tantallon*, to remain there. And again, when *Monsieur de Termes* besieged *Brughtie* upon *Tay*, *Angus* is said to have been with him, and lying at *Brechin* with some Horsemen to have skirmished daily with the Enemy. At last, both *Brughtie* and another Castle near

Queen Mary
sent into
France.

Queen-Mo-
ther Gover-
nor.

unto it were taken, and almost the whole Gar-
risons slain that were in them.

AND now the Queen-Mother being Regent,
all her Care and Endeavour was to bring *Scot-*
land into Subjection of the *French*: For this
purpose a Motion was made, that all Men should
be taxed proportionally according to their
Means, and the Monies levied thence should
be employed to wage Soldiers for the Defence
of the Country, that so the Gentlemen and
Nobility's Travel and Blood might be spared.
None liked of this Course, but every one e-
schewed to be the first Refuser and Opposer
of it. At last the small Barons sent Sir *James*
Sandilands of *Calder* and the Laird of *Wemyss*
to her, whose Speeches are set down at length.
Thus our Writers say. But the ancient Men
report, that the Earl of *Angus* was the Man
that made the Refusal, (it may be he joined
with them) and that he came to *Edinburgh* ac-
companied with 1000 Horse, which was against
her Proclamation, whereby it was forbidden
that any Man should have any more in Train
than his Domesticks and Household Servants;
which was to make Way for, and was ano-
ther Mean of their intended Tyranny. She re-
proved him for transgressing the Proclamation,
by being so accompanied: He answered, *That*
the Knaves would not leave him, that he would
gladly be rid of them, for they did eat all his
Bread and his Beef; that he would think him-
self much bound to her, if she would make him
free and quit of them. Concerning the Tax
which she desired to be made, he said briefly,
We will fight ourselves, and that better than a-
ny hired Fellows; our Predecessors have done it,
and so will we do also. They tell also how at
another Time she desired of him to have his
Castle of *Tantallon* to keep Warders in, or up-
on I know not what Pretext, or for what Use:

To

To this he gave no direct Answer for a long time, but having a Gose-hawk on his Fist which he was feeding, spake of her, saying, she was a greedy Glade *, *That she had already too much, and yet desired more.* But when the Queen insisted, not understanding, or not willing to understand his Meaning, he told her, *Yes Madam, why not, all is yours, ye shall have it, it is at your Service; but, Madam, I must be Captain and Keeper of it: I shall keep it for you as well as any Man you shall put into it.* They tell also how the Queen Regent had Intention to make the Earl of Huntly a Duke; whereof, when she was discourfing with Angus, she told him how Huntly had done her very good Service, for which she intended to advance him, and make him a Duke. To which he answered, 'Why not, Madam, we are happy that have such a Princess, that can know and will acknowledge Mens Service, and is willing to recompense it: But, *by the Might of God* (this was his Oath when he was serious and in Anger, at other Times it was by Saint Bride of Douglas) *if he be a Duke, I will be a Drake;* alluding to the Word Duke, which in Scotland signifies a Duck, as well as that Title and Dignity, which being the Female, and the Drake the Male, his Meaning was, he would be above and before him. 'Our Predecessors, says he, have done 'as good Service as he or his, for which they 'have the Privilege to be first of the Nobility 'after those of the Blood Royal, and I will 'not lose it in my Time upon any such Pretext.' So she desisted from further prosecuting of that Purpose.

Not long after this he died in Tantallon, *Angus dies.* and was buried in Abernethy; when he had lived from his marrying the Queen in the Year 1514, in continual Action, all the Minority of

Of the second Archibald,

King James V. his Majority, all the Time of the Duke of *Albany*, of the Governor *Hamilton*, and of the Queen-Mother, till the Year 1556 or 57, the Space of 44 or 45 Years; to which, if we shall add his Age at his Marriage (of which we have no Certainty) and suppose it to have been twenty Years, he hath lived some 64 Years. He was a Man, besides his other Virtues spoken of, of greater Wisdom than he made Show of, or than did appear unto Men. His Brother Sir *George*, (who died before him) was more learned, and of greater Eloquence, with whom he entertained always brotherly Love and Friendship, and would seem to be guided much by his Counsel; so that when any Suit was made to him, his Answer was, We shall advise with our Brother. But his Brother would tell them, who came to entreat him to mediate with the Earl, in plain Language, that if he had referred it to his advising with him, it was a thing he intended not to do: for, says he, what he minds to do, he never adviseth with me. Neither was he hereby accounted less wise indeed; for even this was a Point of Wisdom, that he would have his Brother seem more wise, which did no whit diminish or derogate any thing from him. It was of this brotherly Affection, that he espoused his Brother's Quarrel against *George Lord Hume*, about the Lands of *Cockburnspath*. The Lands were possessed by one *John Hume*, who was a near Kinsman to the Lord *Hume*, but for some Unkindness or hard Dealing and Usage of the said Lord's towards him, he chose rather to sell them to Sir *George Douglas*. To put his Brother in possession (or to keep it) the Earl assembled out of *Cliddisdale*, *Tiviotdale*, and other Parts, to the Number of 3000 Men. He was also assisted by Sir *George Hume* of *Wedderburn*, and the Laird of *Blackader*, together

ther with the rest of *Wedderburn's* Father-Brothers, all of them except *Broomhouse*, who followed the Lord *Hume*. *Angus* brought with him Field-pieces, and all Provision of War. The Lord *Hume* with his Forces came to the Moor above the Park-gate of *Cockburnspath*, and alighting from their Horses, put their Men in order of Battle. But when he saw *Angus* begin to march towards him, and that none came between to bring the Matter to a Parly, he shrunk back over the Ditch that was near by. Hereupon *Angus* thinking it enough to retain his Brother's Possession, stayed his Companies, and stood still. The Lord *Hume* retired, and going homeward, scattered his Company, and the Earl did the like. Here a Quarrel was like to have arisen betwixt *John Hume* of *Blackader*, and one *Douglas* of *Fedburgh* Forest: For when *Angus* began to march against the Lord *Hume*, this *Douglas* says to *Blackader*, *Now we of the Forest, will teach you of the Merse to fight.* The other answered a little angrily only for the time; but when all were retired, he challenged *Douglas* for those Words: To whom *Douglas* answered, *Were ye angry at my Words?* when the other said he was, *It is well,* says he, *that ye were; for I was afraid that you would not have been half angry, nor have fought half eagerly, there being so many Humes on the other Side.* Besides his Wisdom and brotherly Affection, the Earl of *Angus* is also reported to have had a great Dexterity in conciliating Men's Favour. There was no Man whom he would not win with his Courtesy and Affability, no Man but he would take Notice of him, and pretended to know either himself or his Father, or his Grandfather, or some of his Friends, whom he would praise unto them, and tell what honest Men they had been, and what good Service

Of the second Archibald,

Service they had done in such and such a Place, at such and such Times: Of which they relate this Instance, how being in *Edinburgh*, talking in the Tolbooth with the Lord *Drummond*, there came a Friend to *Drummond*, and took him aside to speak with him a little. When the Gentleman had ended, and was going away, *Angus* takes him kindly by the Hand, and spake familiarly to him, as if he had been of his Acquaintance. After he was gone, my Lord *Drummond* asked *Angus* whether he knew the Gentleman or not; he answered, That he knew him not at all, and had never so much as seen him before. How comes it then, says *Drummond*, that you spake so familiarly to him? He answered, "I saw he was a Friend of yours, and your
 " Friends are my Friends: And besides, this
 " doth gain Men's Hearts; if I were now in
 " Danger, or had to do, yonder Man would
 " assist me, and take my Part.

Archibaldus secundus.

*Quam prastans animi juvenis formæque decorus,
 Et fuerim tantis, tunc quoque dignus avis,
 Testis erit thalamo qua me dignata superbo,
 Nympha, parens Regis, filia, sponsa, soror.
 Consiliis promptumque manu Tevotia laudat,
 Quæ fratæ acies vidit Ivere tuas.*

*Atque tuas Latone: loquatur nos quoque fortes
 Esca Lothi, & dextrâ hac me meruisse mori.
 Quin jam victor eram, ni Proræx Gordoniusque,
 Sive metus trepidâ suasis abire fugâ,
 Seu dolus aut error, liquissent turpiter hastem,
 Dum premo qui fugiens jam mihi terga dabat.
 Summus at hinc mihi surgit honos, quod sanguine
 creti*

Sint nostro reges, terra Britanna, tui.

Archibald the second Earl of that Name.

How lovely was my Shape! how sweet a Grace
Dwelt in my Looks! how like the *Douglas* Race!
How gallant was my Mind! what Hopes were
Of my fresh Youth! witness the Royal Bed
Of her who had been Daughter, Sister, Wife,
To three brave Kings; how my ensuing Life
Made good these Hopes; how wise my Pro-
jects were,
Ivers and *Laton* vanquished, witness bear.
Pinky beheld my Strength, there had I gain'd
The Field; but *Huntly* and the Regent stain'd
Their Honour: Fear or Error made them flee,
Ev'n when I won Ground of the Enemy:
Yet do not these such Height of Honour bring,
As t' have been Grandfire to *Great Britain's*
King.

Of David the eighth Earl of Angus;
and of his Father George, called Sir
George of Pittendrigh.

TO *Archibald* the second, dying without
Heirs-male of his own Body, his Brother Sir
George of Pittendrigh should have succeeded, if
he had out lived him, wherefore we will speak
a Word of him. He got the Lands of *Pit-
tendrigh* by Marriage. His Children by the
Heir of *Pittendrigh* (whose Name was *Dou-
glas* also) were *David*, who succeeded to the
Earldom of *Angus*, and *James* Earl of *Mor-
ton*, and Regent of *Scotland*. This *James* got
the Earldom of *Morton* by marrying the third
Daughter to the Earl of *Morton*, who was *Dou-
glas*

Of Archibald the ninth Earlof Angus,

glas also, and so was made Earl by Provision. Her other two Sisters were married before, one to the Lord *Hamilton* Governor, and the other to the Lord *Maxwell*. He had also a natural Son, called *George* of *Parkhead*, because he married the Heiress of *Parkhead* in *Douglas*; she was also *Douglas* to Name, of whom he begat *James*, afterwards Lord *Torthorah*, by Marriage likewise, and Sir *George* of *Mordington*. He had also a natural Daughter by the Lady *Dundas* in her Husband's Time, called *Elizabeth*, who was married to *Smeiton Richieson*. Of this Sir *George* we have spoken above in his Brother's Life, and how he died before his Brother.

HIS Son *David* married *Elizabeth Hamilton* Daughter to *John Hamilton* of *Samuelston*, called *John* of *Cliddisdale*, Brother German to the Governor. She bare to him one only Son called *Archibald*, and two Daughters, *Margaret* first Lady *Buccleugh*, then Countess of *Bothwell*; and *Elizabeth* Lady *Maxwell*. His Wife after his Death married the Laird of *Whitelaw*, and had before been married to the Laird of *Johnston*.

THIS *David* lived not long, was little above a Year Earl of *Angus*, neither hear we of any of his Actions, being somewhat sickly and infirm of Body. He died in *Cockburnspath*, in the Year 1558.

The ninth Earl of Angus, Archibald the third, and of his Uncle and Tutor James Douglas Earl of Morton.

TO *David* succeeded his Son *Archibald*, a Child not above two Years old. His Tutor

tor and Guardian was *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton* his Uncle, and Brother to *David*: Wherefore it is no ways out of our Way, or impertinent for our History, but rather necessary and most requisite that we should first speak of him, being a Branch and a Brother of the House of *Angus*, and in effect Earl of *Angus*, as well as *Morton*, though under the Name of Tutor or Guardian.

Of his Marriage, we have told before, how he was married to *Douglas*, Daughter to the Earl of *Morton*. She bare to him divers Children (ten as is reported) but none of them lived long, but died all young, ere they came to perfect Age. She herself became distracted, and would not cohabit with her Husband, alledging he was not her Husband, but that he was Master *Archibald Douglas*, who was Brother to *William Douglas* of *Whittingham*; that her Husband was dead, and that Mr. *Archibald Douglas* had killed him. She was kept and entertained by him as became her Place, and had her Residence at *Tantallon*, but he being deprived of her Company, loosed the Reins to others, and begat three natural Children: 1. *James*, whose Mother was one *High* in *Dalkeith*, who was made Captain of *Blackness* Castle, Prior of *Pluscarden*, and afterwards became Laird of *Spot*, by marrying the Heiress thereof, *Anna Hume*, only Daughter to *George Hume* of *Spot*. 2. His second Son was *Archibald*, whom he provided to the Estate of *Pit-tendrigh*, which belonged to his Father Sir *George*. 3. The third Son was named Mr. *George Douglas*, who was lame of his Feet. Thus much of his Children.

TOUCHING himself, during his Childhood and Youth, he lived obscurely, and lurked for fear of the King (*James V.*) who had banished his Father and Uncle, caused burn his Aunt

His lurking,
and being a
Grieve.

the

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus.

the Lady *Glamis*, and had professedly set himself against the whole Name of *Douglas* utterly to ruin and extirpate them. We do not hear that his elder Brother *David* did thus hide himself, or, if he did, it hath not been so observed of him: But of this *James*, it is certainly known, that all the Time of his Father's Banishment and Exile, he lurked under the borrowed Name of *James the Grieve*, or *James Innes*; first with his Cousin of *Glenbervy*, afterwards, for fear of being discovered with so near a Kinsman, with some Gentleman in the more Northern Parts of *Scotland*. And as he bore the Name, so did he also execute the Office of a Grieve and Overseer of the Lands and Rents, the Corn and Cattle of him with whom he lived. Neither was this, howsoever mean Employment, without great Use, as nothing else in Providence ever is, if it be rightly observed. It fitted him for those weighty Matters, which afterwards he was to meddle in, and schooled him for that Charge in which he was to be employed ere long. For by this means he became acquainted with the Humours and Disposition of the Vulgar and inferior sort of the common People, which Knowledge is useful and necessary to greatest Governors, that so they may know how to deal with them, and manage them according as they shall have Occasion. He attained also hereby such Skill in Husbandry, and such Perfection in Oeconomy and Thriftiness, that having acquired a Habit of Frugality, he not only repaired the decayed and shattered Estates of these two Earldoms, *Angus* and *Morton*, but also helped to recover and augment the Revenues of the Crown and Kingdom, more than any other Regent.

So long as his Uncle, Father, and Brother were alive, we do not hear any thing of him, neither

neither is there any Mention at all made of him, save that in the Year 1547, as hath been said, after the Battle at *Musleburgh*, he yielded up to the *English* his Castle of *Dalkeith*, together with himself their Prisoner, and was by them carried into *England*, being then about twenty seven Years of Age or thereby: How long he staid there, we cannot affirm, but it should seem he remained there certain Years, for during that Time, he learned the State of that Country, together with the *English* Tongue and Tone, which he did ever thereafter much delight to use.

He is a Prisoner in England.

At his Return, after the Death of his Brother *David*, he being Tutor and Guardian to his Nephew *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*, finding both his own, and his Pupil's Estate greatly burdened with Debt, he lived privately, and retired for a while, with a very small Retinue of his Domesticks only, neither going to Court, nor intermeddling with any publick Affairs, to avoid the Charges which otherwise he must have undergone. Wherefore his first Care was to clear these two Earldoms, by frugal Parsimony in the Beginning, and not to lavish out the Remainder by untimely Magnificence, esteeming wisely, that Means and Money are the Sinews not only of War, but also of all civil and politick Actions. Now, besides the Burden that was upon the Lands, his Nephew's Title to the Earldom of *Angus* was questionable: For if the Entailment were not very strong, as it seems it was not, Lady *Margaret Douglas* Countess of *Lennox* had the better Right, and was before him, she being sole Heir of Line to *Archibald* that married the Queen, and so Inheritrix of *Angus*. It is true she lived in *England* with her Husband *Lennox*, who was banished, but who knew how soon he might be recalled and restored? Wherefore,

Returns.

Lives retired and privately at home.

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus,

to prevent that Danger, and to strengthen his Nephew and himself against their Attempts, he contracts him to Monsieur D'Osels Daughter, that by his Means and Friendship, he being a *Frenchman*, he might have the Queen's Favour and Good-will to uphold him against their Claims. But this Contract took no Effect; for she was married afterward to Monsieur D'Aubespine, and Angus to others, as we shall hear in his Life.

He comes abroad, and begins to deal in publick Affairs

AFTER that he had thus settled his Affairs at home, he began to come abroad, and to have a hand in publick Business. In the Year 1559, he with the Duke of *Chastelherault* do mediate a Truce between the Queen-Mother and the Lords, from the 24th of *July* until the 10th of *January*. Some Writers say that he assisted, and sided with the Queen; but it should seem that they have mistaken the Matter: For not long after he joined openly with those that were against her, and the *French* Faction; and is now reckoned among the Noblemen that sent to the Queen of *England* for her Aid and Assistance. These were the Duke of *Chastelherault*, *James Stewart* Brother to the young Queen, afterwards Earl of *Murray*, the Earls of *Arran* (Son to the Duke) *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, *Roths*, *Sutherland*, *Monteith*, *Huntly*, *Caithness*, *Errol*, *Marshall*, *Montrose*, *Cassils*, *Eglinton*; the Lords *Ruthven*, *Ogilvy*, *Erskine*, *Drummond*, *Hume*, *Ross*, *Creighton*, *Levingston*, *Sommervell*, the whole Nobility almost. Their Cause and their Company being so good, *Morton* could not but take part with them: The common Liberty of their Country against the *French*, and Religion, was no less dear to him than it was to them. In Matter of Religion he was so forward, that the Book of Discipline being compiled by some appointed for that Purpose, though divers refused

to approve of it, and to set to their Hands, yet he did it with the first, and received it willingly: Wherefore these two, than which there is nothing dearer unto Men, being in Danger, he was forced in a Manner to lend his helping Hand for their Defence, *pro aris & focis*, as the common Saying is; And that the rather, for that he saw there was no Hope of Peace, seeing the Truce which he had procured till the 10th of *January* was not kept: For before the Middle of *September* Monsieur *La Croque*, being sent out of *France* to certify the Queen of the new Forces which were in levying for her Aid, under the leading of Marquis *D'Elbeuse* her Brother, she began to fortify *Leith* with those *French* who were already in the Country. Not long after arrived *Ostavian*, a *French* Colonel, with 1000 Men, and immediately followed him at the Heels *La Brosse*, Knight of the Cockle, with 2000 more. The next Spring came also the Count Marquess of the House of *Luxemburg*, afterwards Duke *D'Estamps*, with 1000 Foot, and some Horse. These all remained and abode in *Leith*, which they had fortified; but the Queen, to secure her own Person, retired to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, though the Captain thereof, the Lord *Erskine* was on the contrary Part. The Nobility assembling themselves at *Dalkeith*-Castle, which belonged to *Morton* hard by *Edinburgh*, from thence do write to her desiring that she would dismiss the *French* who were Foreigners, and set open the Town of *Leith*, that the Natives might have free Recourse and Commerce thither. When they could not obtain these things at her Hands, the *English*, to the Number of 7 or 8000, being already entred into *Scotland*, they sat down before *Leith* the 4th of *April* 1560. About The Queen-
the eight of *June*, the Queen-Mother dying in mother
the dieth,

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus.

Morton Am-
bassador in
England.

the Castle of *Edinburgh*, a Peace was concluded, the Town of *Leith* was surrendred, and the *Frenchmen* returned home into their own Country. In the Beginning of Winter, *Morton*, together with *Glencairn*, and Sir *William Maitland* of *Lethington*, Secretary, were sent to thank the Queen of *England* for her ready Succour. *Morton* had also a private Message from the Earl of *Arran*, to lay out Marriage to her, but it is not likely that he would deliver it, being so unprobable, and such a Proposition as he knew would not be very acceptable unto her. In this Journey, *Morton* procured of his Cousin Lady *Margaret Douglas* Countess of *Lennox*, her Renunciation of all Claim and Title she had to the Earldom of *Angus*, in favours of his Nephew *Archibald*, but being done without the Consent of her Husband, *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, it was renewed again afterwards.

Queen Mary
arrives in
Scotland.

THE 16th of *August* 1561, Queen *Mary* returned out of *France*, to her native Country and Kingdom of *Scotland*, her Husband *Francis* II. being dead before in *December*. The Nobility was still divided concerning Matter of Religion, and although now, having their native Princess at home, her Husband being dead, there was no great Cause to fear the Power or Empire of Strangers; yet did they suspect that she would be too much ruled and counselled by her Uncles the Cardinal of *Lorain* and the *Guisians*. The Heads of the Parties were, *James* the Queen's Brother, and *George* Earl of *Huntly*, the first a zealous Protestant, and wholly bent to maintain the received Reformation, and the other no less forward for the *Romish* Religion. The Queen inclined to favour *Huntly's* Cause, but the Reformed Religion was established by Acts of Parliament, which had been ratified by her
own

own Consent. *Huntly*, as he was a crafty and turbulent Man, so was he also esteemed to be by the Queen and her Uncles, who, like unto themselves, made but a Cloak of Religion to attain his own Ambitious Ends and Designs. Wherefore, howbeit they thought him a fit Instrument to bring their own Purposes to pass, and made use of him, yet did they not trust him. *James Earl of Murray*, by the contrary, was sincere, upright, trusty and faithful in all his Actions, but he ran a Course directly opposite to that which they intended. The Earl of *Morton* entred into strait Bonds of Friendship with *Murray*, which continued so long as they lived together. They had the same Friends, and the same Enemies, the same Ends and Aims, the Good of their Country, and maintaining of Religion. They ran the same Hazard in all Perils and Dangers, never separating their Counsels, nor failing to aid and assist one another: Wherefore *Murray* being sent by the Queen against the Outlaws upon the Borders, being assisted by *Morton* and his Friends, who lay near unto those Places, he came to *Hawick* upon the Fair-day of that Town, and having apprehended fifty of the most notorious Thieves which came to the Market, fearing nothing, he did so terrify the rest, that those Parts remained peaceable and quiet for a long Time after. This Success, as it increased his Reputation, so it did also more and more kindle the Hatred and Envy of his Enemies: And now besides those at Home, the *Guisians* did also plot his Ruin. Their Quarrel was Religion, their Instrument *Huntly*, their Hope, his Power and Greatness, which was given out to them to be rather more than it was indeed: Wherefore they write to the Queen, their Niece, to feed *Huntly* with large Promises, and to entertain his Son *John* with

Friendship
betwixt
Morton and
Murray.

Hope

Their Ruin
plotted.

Hope of marrying her, and fair Countenances, that so they might be drawn to do what she listed, to make away *Murray* and *Morton*, with their Accomplices. The Pope's Letters were to the same Effect. She had sent to him for Monies to make War upon those that had spoken of the Yoke of Popish Obedience; and his Answer was, That she should not want his Help, so that she would do it seriously, that was, (according to the Cardinal of *Lorrain's* Gloss) so that first of all she would cause make away those whose Names were given her in Writing. These Letters she shewed unto *Murray* and the rest; either because she suspected they had Notice of them some other Way, or to lull them asleep in Security, that being thus perswaded of her Sincerity and good Meaning, they might the more easily be over-reached and intrapped. So the Project goeth on, and

The Queen
goeth to the
North, they
accompany
her.

all things being sufficiently forecatt, and prepared for the accomplishing of their Intentions, the Queen takes her Progress into the North.

MURRAY behaved to accompany her, and *Morton* would not forsake *Murray*: Who can imagine that their Counsels should be disappointed. The Forces which *Murray* and *Morton* had, were very small, and they were far from their Friends, which dwelt in the South Parts of the Kingdom. *Huntly* commanded all in those Quarters, being Lieutenant and Sheriff by Inheritance, and encompassed about by his Friends and Dependens; so the Game seemed sure: But what can prevail against that which God hath ordained? He had decreed to frustrate them, and that by themselves. The Queen's Intentions and *Huntly's* did not jump in all things; they had their several Ends; they agreed in their Desire of being rid of those who opposed the re-establishing

blishing of Popery; but *Huntly* had a further Drift; he propounded to himself, as the Reward of his Service, no less than the Queen's Person, to be married to his Son *John*, and so in effect the Crown and Kingdom. But howsoever the Queen by her Carriage towards the young Man, was contented they should please themselves with that Conceit; yet neither did she ever go so far as to promise any such thing, neither was it indeed her Meaning; for she desired no less to be rid of *Huntly*, and hated him much more than she did *Murray*, having had many Proofs of his perfidious Dealing both towards her Father and her Mother: Besides, she thought him too great, and more powerful than was fit for a Subject, or safe for the Prince. Wherefore, before she began her Journey into the North, she left his Son *John* in Prison behind her. The Pretext was, because he had hurt the Lord *Ogilvy* in a Skirmish on the Street of *Edinburgh*; but the true Cause was, that he might be kept there as a Pledge of his Father's Fidelity, and that he being absent, *Huntly* might not constrain her to marry him, nor force her to any thing she had not a mind to: But *John* made an Escape out of Prison, and followed the Queen, that his Absence might not be any Hindrance to the Marriage. So *Huntly* and his Son gather their Forces together to meet the Queen, and to cut off *Murray* and *Morton*, as they would have her believe; but their main Aim was withal to compel her to marry if she should refuse. This the Queen knew well enough; so that when the Countess of *Huntly* did tell her from the Earl her Husband, That he was ready to put in Execution what had been determined, the Queen told her, that there was one thing which *Huntly* must needs do first of all, before any thing else were ta-

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ken in Hand. His Son *John* had broken Prison, which was a manifest Contempt of her Authority, and such a thing as she could not in Honour wink at; and therefore he behoved to return, and enter himself Prisoner in the Castle of *Stirling*, though it were but for some few Days, to shew his Obedience and Subjection to the Laws. *Huntly* would none of that, for he saw that so his Son should be made to answer for whatsoever should be done contrary to the Queen's liking, so there was a Demur in the Business. In the mean time the Queen goes from *Aberdeen* to *Balquhain*, the House of one Mr. *Lestly* a Gentleman, some twelve Miles from the Town. This was thought a fit Place to execute their Design upon *Murray* and *Morton*: But the Gentleman, though he was *Huntly's* Friend, would upon no Terms give way to have it done in his House. Then the Queen went towards *Strathbogy*, a House of *Huntly's*, where he had resolved to make an End of all, but by the way she told the Earl, as they rode together, that unless his Son would return to his Prison, she could not in Honour go to his House. But he not condescending thereunto, tho' she were within sight of *Strathbogy*, she turned another way, and went to a House of the Earl of *Athol's*, from thence to *Inverness*, where thinking to have lodged in the Castle, *Huntly's* Servants that had the keeping thereof, shut the Gates against her. Then did she percieve what Danger she was in, being constrained to lodge in an open Town, which had neither Wall, nor Rampart, nor Ditch, the Country about being wholly at *Huntly's* Devotion, whose Son *John* was in the Fields with a thousand armed Men, besides the Country People, who were ready to join with him. Wherefore now seeing that her own Safety consisted in her Brother's, having none else in whom

The Queen
at *Inverness*.

whom she could rely and trust, she began to make much of him and *Morton*. These two caused set a Watch, and placed a strong Guard at all the Entries of the Town, by which Means *Huntly's* Spies and Intelligencers were taken: The next Morning the *Clan-Chattons*, with the *Frasers* and *Monros*, and many Highlanders understanding that their Princess was in danger, came to her Aid, and forsook *Huntly*. With these she took the Castle of *Inverness*, and caused execute *Alexander Gordon* the Captain thereof, which was a sufficient Testimony of her Alienation from *Huntly*. All this did not quell the Earl, or divert him from his Purpose: His Ambition spurred him on before, Necessity doth now drive him forward; he had gone too far to think of a Retreat, therefore he follows the Queen from *Inverness* to *Aberdeen*, watching for some Opportunity to effect his Intentions. He lay not far from the Town with his Companies, and had his Intelligencers within it, the Earl of *Sutherland*, Mr. *Lestry* of *Balquhain*, black *Alexander* (or *Arthur*) *Forbes*. The Townsmen were most of them, either of his Kindred, or allied to him; and all of them so affected, as that they neither would, or durst oppose him. But Letters being intercepted, which *Sutherland* and *Balquhain* wrote to him, their Plots were discovered and they defeated of their Intendments once more.

THEN *Murray* and *Morton* thinking it both tedious and perillous to be always on their Guard, and to be Defenders only, resolved to take their Turn of assailing, and pursuing, if so happily they might break his Forces, and disperse them; and howbeit they had not of their own, that they could trust to, above an hundred Horse, yet being armed with Authority, and the Majesty of their Sovereign, for the Safety of whose Person they were to

Alexander Gordon beheaded.

She goes to *Aberdeen*.

The Battle
at *Corrichie*,
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fight, having gathered together of *Forbeses* and *Leslies*, to the Number of seven or eight hundred, and hoping, that albeit they inclined to favour *Huntly*, yet their Duty and Allegiance to their Princess would not suffer them to betray her, they took the Field. These made great Show of Forwardness in conveneing, and gave out great Words and Brags, that they alone would do all. *Huntly* with his Men had taken a Plot of Ground, inclosed about with Marishes; so that he was in a manner encamped. *Murray* and *Morton*, with the trustiest of their Friends, retired to a little Hill, to behold the Issue of this Battle, committing all to those who had taken it upon them; only they sent some Horsemen a By-way, to close up the Passages of the Marish, that *Huntly* being overcome, might not escape that Way. So those Boasters begin to march towards the Enemy, and by the Way they pluckt off the Heath, or Heather, which grows in abundance in those Parts, and stuck it in their Helmets and Head-pieces, according as it had been agreed upon betwixt them and *Huntly*. Wherefore, he thinking now, (these being for him) that there was no Power to resist him, came out of his Strength against them, who presently turned their Backs, and came fleeing with their Swords drawn, and crying, *Treason, Treason*, as if they had been betrayed, when indeed themselves were the Traitors. They had thrown away their Spears and long Weapons, wherefore *Murray* and *Morton*, tho' they were astonished at the first Sight of these Heather-topped Traitors, who came running towards them, with *Huntly* at their Heels, yet they took Courage, and resolved to stand to it: For as they were about to save themselves by Flight, and were calling for their Horses, *William Douglas* of *Glenberwy*, who was afterwards Earl

Earl of *Angus*, requested them to stay, as is reported, saying, *No Horses, my Lords, we are strong enough for Huntly, and these Men, tho' they flee, yet will they not fight against us. Wherefore let us present our Pikes and Spears to keep them out, that they come not in among us, to break our Ranks, and the rest will prove easy.* This Advice was liked and followed; so that *Huntly* expecting nothing less than to find Resistance, and being destitute of long Weapons, was forced, some of his Men being slain, to give Ground; and at last to flee as fast as before he had followed the counterfeited Fliers: Then the Heather-tops perceiving that *Huntly* fled, turned upon him, and to make amends, slew most of them that were slain that Day, which were some hundred and twenty, and an hundred taken Prisoners, amongst whom was *Huntly* himself and his Sons *John* and *Adam*. The Earl being an aged and corpulent pursey Man was stifled with his Armour, and for want of Breath in the taking. Some say that he received a Stroke on the Head with a Pistol; but it seems to be false; for it is reported, that when *Huntly* saw his Men routed, he asked of those that were by him, what the Name of the Ground was upon which they fought; and having learned that it was commonly called *Corrichie*, he repeated the Name thrice, *Corrichie, Corrichie, Corrichie*, then God be merciful to me. The Name of the Place put him in Mind of a Response or Oracle, if we may so call it, which was given by a Witch in the Highlands, to whom he had sent to enquire of his Death, and she had told that he should die at *Corrichie*: But whether the Messenger, or he himself mistook the Word, he understood it of *Creigh*, a Place which was in his Way to *Aberdeen*, and which (riding thither) he always did shun, by Reason of this

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this Soothsayer's Speech; or if at any Time he did adventure to go by it, he was sure to be well accompanied, and to have the Fields cleared before; but this Event discovered his mistaking. It was also told him by some of the same Profession, That the same Day on which he was taken, he should be in *Aberdeen*, maugre those that would not so, neither should one Drop of his Blood be spilt. This seemed to promise him a successful Journey; but the Ambiguity thereof was cleared by his Death; for he was indeed that Night in *Aberdeen*, being carried thither upon a Pair of Creels or Panniers, and that against the Will of all his Friends, who would not have had him brought thither in such a Guise. Neither did he lose any Blood, but was choaked for want of Breath. Such are commonly the Answers of such Spirits, ambiguous, and of no Use to the Receivers; yet Mens Curiosity is so prevalent, that Posterity will take no Warning of former Examples. *Murray* being glad of this so unlooked for Victory, sent to the Ministers of *Aberdeen*, to be ready against his coming, to go to the Churches, and give God Thanks for that Day's Success; which they did very solemnly, and, no Question, heartily, as Men are wont to do, while the Memory of a great Delivery is yet fresh in their Minds. The next Day *John Gordon*, the Earl's Son, was executed and his Brother *Adam* was pardoned in regard of his Youth. *George* the eldest Brother fled to his Father-in-law the Duke of *Chastelherault*, and afterwards being arraigned and condemned of high Treason, he was sent Prisoner to the Castle of *Dumbar*: Who doth not see through this whole Journey, but especially in this Catastrophy, an over-ruling Power and Providence, doth either willingly shut his Eyes, or else hath his Understanding blind.

blinded by Partiality or Prejudice. Five several Times, at *Balquhain*, at *Strathbogy*, at *Inverness*, at *Aberdeen*, and last of all at *Corrichie*, did *Huntly* attempt to cut off these Men, who were many Degrees weaker, and five times is he disappointed; and that neither by their Wisdom nor Strength, but by him who confounds the Wisdom of the Wise, and who delivers without the Help of the Arm of Flesh. Neither were they delivered only, but their Enemies were also taken in the Trap, and fell into the Pit which they had digged for them. Let Men observe it, and let them learn not to confide in their own (never so seeming wisely grounded) Projects, lest they be thus disappointed as *Huntly* was. This fell out in the Year 1562. After this they returned with the Queen to *Edinburgh*, where we will leave them in rest, and so in Silence a Year or two.

In the Year 1564, *Matthew Stewart* Earl of *Lennox* and *Lennox* returned into *Scotland* after twenty two *Henry Lord Darnly come home.* Years Exile, and was restored to his Estate in a Parliament. Not long after, his Son *Henry Lord Darnly*, having obtained Leave of the Queen of *England* for three Months, came to do his Duty to the Queen as his Princess and Kinswoman. He being a proper and handsome young Man, and her Cousin-German by his Mother Lady *Margaret Douglas*, the Queen began to think him a fit Husband for her, and ere long did propound the Matter to the Nobility, craving their Consent and Approbation thereto. They were divided in their Opinions. *Hamilton* and *Murray* were against the Match, fearing Alteration in Religion, he being a Roman Catholick, as the Queen also was. Besides, they thought it not fit to conclude any thing without the Queen of *England's* Consent. *Morton* was for it; and thought it great Reason that she should have her Liberty in her

Proposition of Marriage with the Queen.

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Choice of a Husband. He liked also the Party, being his near Kinsman, the Lady Margaret Douglas and he being Brother's Children. Wherefore having endeavoured to draw those that stood against it to be of his Opinion, when he could not prevail, he professed openly he would do what in him lay to set it forward; and speaking to the Duke and Murray, *It will be long, says he, ere you two agree on a Husband for her, if she marry not till you do, I fear me she marry not these seven Years;* and so he left them. The rest bound themselves to withstand it. Her Uncles of Guise did also oppose it, intending to bestow her on some foreign Prince, so to strengthen themselves by some great Alliance. The Queen of England did not so much dislike it, as she desired to have some Hand and Stroke in it. Notwithstanding all this Opposition, the Marriage

They marry was consummate the 27th of July 1565, about the 27th of six Months after he came to Scotland. What-
July 1565.

soever the Motives were that induced the Parties thus to hasten it, so it pleased God in his Wisdom and Providence, to dispose of things that by joining of these two, this happy Conjunction of the two Kingdoms, which we now see and enjoy, should spring from them without all Controversy or Question. The eldest Daughter of King Henry VII. of England, Margaret, had but two Children, James V. by King James IV. and Margaret Douglas, born at Harbottle, by Archibald Earl of Angus her second Husband. James V. left behind him but one Child, Mary, sole Heir to the Crown of Scotland. Lady Margaret Douglas being brought up with her Uncle Henry VIII, was married to Matthew Stewart Earl of Lennox, who being banished, and living in England, had by her Henry Lord Darnly, and Charles Father to Arabella. So that by this
Mar-

Marriage of Queen Mary to Henry Lord Darnly, the whole Right that was in Queen Margaret to the Crown of England (failing the Heirs of King Henry VIII.) was combined and united in the Persons of these two, and their Offspring. What Eye is so blind as not to see evidently the Hand of the Almighty in this Match? In taking away her former Husband, (the King of France) in bringing her back again into Scotland; in sending Lennox into England, there to marry Lady Margaret Douglas, in bringing him and his Son Henry home again, after twenty two Years Absence, and in moving Queen Mary to set her Affection on him. I make no Question but this Consideration of strengthening the Title to England, hath been amongst the Motives that drew on this Match, though we find none or very slender Mention thereof in our Writers.

THE next Day after the Marriage, they were proclaimed with Sound of Trumpet at the Market-cross of *Edinburgh* by a Herald, Henry and Mary King and Queen of Scotland. This was ill taken both of the Nobility and Commons; a King made by Proclamation! The Voice of a Herald to be instead of a Parliament! King Francis her former Husband had not done so; he had sought a matrimonial Crown from the three Estates, and hardly obtained it, after he had been refused at first, yet not without Consent of a Parliament. But by this it appeared they made no account of the States, nor bare respect unto the Customs of the Kingdom. Every Man thought it a great Neglect, and Derogation to their Privileges; but the Mal-contented called it a tyrannical Usurpation. Thus many of the Nobility being discontented, withdrew themselves; and the Want of their Presence and Countenance in

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guiding of Affairs, did alienate the People. The principal Mal-contents were *Hamilton, Murray, Argyle, Rothes, Glencairn*. Against these the King goeth to *Glasgow* with 4000 Men. They lay at *Paisley*; and though they were together, yet they were not all of one Mind. The *Hamiltons* would not hear of any Peace, alledging there could be no true and firm Reconciliation with Princes once offended. The rest were not of their Opinion: They said that Matters had been hitherto carried without Blood; neither were their Differences such, but that they might be composed without Stroke of Sword; especially in regard that there were some about their Princes, that would both mediate their Peace, and endeavour to have it faithfully kept; the constant Practice of their Predecessors, and the Rule they had ever followed had been this, to pass by, and not to take notice of the secret and hidden Faults of their Princes, and to save those things which were doubtful, by a favourable and charitable Construction; yea even to tolerate and bear with their open Faults and Errors, as far as might be, without the Ruin of the Commonwealth; of which Nature they esteemed these Slips in Government to be proceeding from their Youth and want of Experience, which might be redressed by calm and fair Means. *Hamilton* himself did like their Moderation, but the rest of the *Hamiltons* refused to assist them upon these Terms; wherefore they departed all of them, save the Duke, with some sixteen that attended his Person. By this Departure they were so weakened, that not daring to abide the King's coming, they went first to *Hamilton*, and the Day following towards *Edinburgh*; but being shot at from the Castle, they took their way through *Biggar* to *Dumfries*, to the Lord *Harris*, who had desired

ed them to do so, and had made them many fair Promises; but he failing them, they dismissed their Troops, and fled into *England*. All this Way the King with his Companies dogged them at the Heels, whereupon it was called the *Run-away Rode*, or *Run-about*, and the *Wild-goose Chase*. The King returned to *Edinburgh* in the latter End of *October*.

The Run-
about Rode.

ALL this while the Earl of *Morton* took part with the King and Queen; but he was suspected to favour the other Side, which he did indeed so far, as to wish that the Matter might be so taken up, that none of their Lives were endangered. Otherwise he was in a good Place, and Chancellor for the Time. But these mal-contented Lords being thus removed, his House of *Tantallon* was seized, that it might not be a Receipt and Place of Refuge for the Rebels, if they should happen to take it: But the true Cause was, *Rizio*, commonly known by the Name of *Seignior David* had put the King and Queen in some Jealousy of *Morton*, the Occasion whereof was this, this *Italian* or *Piedmontese*, was of a Musician risen to such Favour, that he was become Cabinet Secretary to the Queen, and Sir *William Maitland* Secretary of State, finding himself prejudiced by him, who had encroached upon his Office, as also out of the Love he bare to *Murray*, to whom *Rizio* was a professed Enemy, bethought himself how to be rid of him. Wherefore he appointed a Meeting with *Morton* and the Lord *Harris*, in which he used all the Perswasions he could to induce them to cut off that base Stranger, who took upon him to disturb the Country, did abuse the Queen's Favour, and set all in a Combustion, to the Dishonour of the Prince and Nobility, telling them, That it belonged to them, and such as they were, to have a Care that such Disorders

Morton
Chancellor.

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were not suffered unpunished. And the more to incite them thereto, he alledged the Examples of former Times, omitting nothing which he thought might move them to undertake it. But *Morton*, as the Proverb is, was as wise as he was wilily: He told him flatly he would take no such violent Course; he would do what he could by fair Means for *Murray's* Peace and Restitution; but as for that Way, it would offend the Queen highly, and therefore he would not meddle with it. *Maitland* seeing that he could not draw him to it by Perswasion, casts about how to drive him to it by Necessity: He betakes himself to *Rizio*, makes shew as if he were very desirous of his Friendship, and profers him his Service so far as he was able. After he had so insinuated himself, that he began to have some Trust with him, he told him, That the Place he had (to be the Queen's Closet-Secretary) was neither gainful nor usual in this Country, and that he might easily come by a better; the Lord Chancellor's Office, says he, is the most honourable, which is in *Morton's* Hands a Man no ways fit for the Place, as being unlettered and unskilful. Do but deal with the Queen to estrange her Countenance from him, as one that favours *Murray* a Rebel, and with the King, to insist in his Right to the Earldom of *Angus*, *Morton* will be glad to sue to you for your Favour, and, to obtain your Friendship, will be content to admit his Place of Chancellor in your Behalf: only, in regard that the Place (being the chief Office in the Kingdom, must be possessed by a *Scottish* Nobleman, you must first be made a free Denizan, and naturalized, and have the Title of an Earl, which the Queen may confer upon you of herself. This *Maitland* thought would incense *Morton* against *Rizio*,

Rizio, and force him to do him a Mischief. Rizio began to follow this Advice, in so much that the Castle of *Tantallon* was summoned, and delivered into the King's Hands; likewise the King entred Heir to his Grandfather *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*; the Queen also intending to create *Rizio* an Earl, would have bought *Melvin* Castle, with the Lands belonging thereto, for the first Step of his Preferment, but the Owner would by no Means part with them. And it is very probable that he would have prosecuted the rest of the Plot, if he had not been interrupted, and dispatched before he could bring it to pass; for his Credit increased so far with the Queen, that like too big a Sail for a small Bark, he was not able to bear his good Fortune, but being puffed up therewith beyond Measure, he forgot his Duty to the King, and carried himself so insolently towards him, that the King resolved to rid himself of him upon any terms. So he imparts his Mind to his Friends, that *Rizio* must needs be made away. Those whom he first acquainted with his Purpose were *George Douglas*, commonly called the Postulate, a natural Brother of his Mother's, an understanding and active Man; the Lord *Ruthven*, who had married a natural Sister of his Mother's, and the Lord *Lindsay*, who was his Cousin-german, and had to Wife a Sister of the Earl of *Murray's*; and his own Father the Earl of *Lennox*. These had concluded to lay hold on him as he came from the Tennis-Court, where he used much; but he having gotten some inkling hereof, kept a Guard about him of some fifty Halbards, which constrained them to think of a new Course. And because their Power was neither sufficient to effect it, nor to bear it out when it were done, they thought good to join the Earl of *Morton*. He being somewhat

Rizio's
Death plotted
by the
King.

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what alienated, and discontented with the King's insisting in his Claim to the Earldom of *Angus*, they sent to him *Andrew Ker* of *Fawdounside* and *Sir John Ballantine* Justice-clerk, to deal with him, who prevailed so far, that he was content to come to *Lennox's* Chamber, where the King was: There they came soon to an Agreement; the King and his Father, for themselves, and undertaking also for *Lady Margaret Douglas* (whose Consent they promised to obtain, and that she should renew and ratify what had been done by herself before) renounced all Title, Right, Interest or Claim they had or could make to the Earldom of *Angus* in favours of *Archibald* Son to *David*, sometime Earl thereof. Having obtained this, he consented to assist the King with all his Power on these Conditions, " 1. That no-
 " thing should be altered in the received
 " Religion, but that it should be establish-
 " ed as fully, and in as ample Manner,
 " as it was before the Queen came home out
 " of *France*. 2. That the banished Lords
 " should be brought home and restored. 3.
 " That the King would take the Fact upon
 " himself, and warrant them from whatsoever
 " Danger might follow thereon by the Queen's
 " Displeasure." These Articles were given
 him in Writing to subscribe, lest afterwards,
 out of his Facility or Levity he should either
 deny it, or alter his Mind, which he did very
 willingly, and even eagerly. Presently here-
 upon *Lennox* went into *England*, to acquaint
 the banished Lords herewith, and to bring
 them near to the Borders of *Scotland*, that
 when *Rizio* was slain, they might be ready to
 lay hold of the Occasion for their Restitution:
 And now the Day of the Parliament drew
 near, in which they were to be forfeited, and
Rizio did bestir himself notably to bring it to
 pass.

pass. He went about to all those that had Vote in Parliament, to try their Minds, and to terrify them, by telling them it was the Queen's Pleasure to have it so; and that whosoever voted to the contrary, should incur her high Displeasure, and nowise do any Good to the Noblemen. This made them hasten his Death, to prevent the Sentence which the Parliament might have given out against the Lords by *Rizio's* Practices: Wherefore that they might take him when his Guard was from him, and that it might the more clearly be seen that the King was the chief Author of it, they determined to take him along with them, who should bring him out of the Queen's Chamber, from whence he should be carried to the City and have his Trial by Assize, and so legally and formally (for they had Matter enough against him) condemned and executed at the Market-cross of *Edinburgh*. So *Morton* assembled his Friends, and going to the Abbey of *Holy-rood-house*, the 8th March 1566, in the Evening, he seized the Keys of the Palace, and leaving a sufficient Number in the Inner-Court below, to keep in the Noblemen that were lodged in the Palace, and were not on the Plot, he himself went up to the Presence, and there walked up and down. The King went directly to the Queen's Chamber by the privy Stairs, and with him the Lord *Ruthven*, and some five more all armed. The Queen was at Supper, and there were with her, her natural Sister the Countess of *Argyle*, and *Rizio*, with some few other Servants. She was at first somewhat amazed to see them come into her Bed-Chamber, being armed; but because the Lord *Ruthven* had been sick of a burning Fever, she thought he had been distracted with the Vehemency of the Fit; so she asked what the Matter was. *Ruthven* made no Answer, but laid hold on *Rizio*, and told him, it did not become

come him to be in that Place. He ran to the Queen, and clasped his Hands about her to save himself, but the King taking her softly in his Arms, told her they had determined to punish that Villain, who had abused both them and the Country; and withal, unclasping *Rizio's* Hands, he delivered him to *Ruthven*, who carried him from thence into the Privy-Chamber, and then to the Presence. In the mean time the Earls *Bothwell* and *Huntly*, who were opposite to this Course, being lodged in the Palace, and hearing how Things went on the Queen's side, would have made Resistance, by the Help of the Under-officers of Court, Butlers, Cooks, Skuls and such like, with Spirs and Staves; but they were quickly rambarred and beaten back by those that had been left of purpose in the Court by *Morton*. So *Huntly* and *Bothwell* fled out at Back-windows. *Athole* was perswaded to keep his Chamber by Secretary *Maitland*, who was on the Plot, and supped that Night with *Athole*; partly to keep him from stirring, lest he might have offered or suffered Violence; partly and chiefly that he himself might not be suspected to have a Finger in the Pye, having *Athole* to be a Witness of his Behaviour therein. He had given Order to his Followers, that they should remain quiet till it came to be acted, and that then they should arm themselves and run hastily as it were to an unknown and sudden Fray and Tumult, but, if there were Need, to assist *Morton* and those that guarded the Court. The Noise of the scuffling which *Huntly* and *Bothwell* made below in the Court, coming to the Ears of those that were above in the Presence, and had *Rizio* in their Hands; they not knowing what it might import, but fearing that he might be rescued from them, they fell upon him and stabbed him with their Daggers, sore against the

Rizio killed.

the Will and besides the Intention of *Morton* and the rest of the Noblemen, who thought to have caused execute him upon the Scaffold, so to have gratified the common People, to whom it would have been a most acceptable and pleasant Sight. It is constantly reported, that he was advised by one *Damicote* a French Priest, who was thought to have some Skill in the black Art, that now he had gotten good store of Means and Riches, it was best for him to return home to his native Country, where he needed not to fear the Nobility of *Scotland*, whose Hatred he could not be able to stand out against long; but he contemned his Counsel, saying, *The Scots were greater Threatners than Doers*. They say also, that one *Seignior Franceese* admonished him to carry himself more soberly, and not to irritate the Nobility; for, as he understood, they bare him no Good-will, and would not fail to do him some Mischief one Time or another: But he answered him in *Italians*, *Parole, parole*, all was but Words; he feared them not, they were no Body, they were but like Ducks, which if some of them be stricken down, the rest will ly in. To whom the other replied, *Take heed you find them not rather like Geese, of which if you stir but one, all the rest will fly upon you, and so plum you, that they will leave you neither Feather nor Down*. So when he was desired by some Diviner or Soothsayer to beware of the Bastard, he said, *That Bastard should not have Power to do much Hurt in Scotland, so long as he lived*; understanding it to be spoken of *Murray*, who was Bastard-brother to the Queen. But the Bastard that slew him was *George Douglas*, as is the most received Opinion, who stabbed him with the King's Dagger, having none of his own then about him. This brought *Morton* into great Trouble; for the next Day being

*Morton flies
to England.*

being the Day of the Parliament, the banished Lords compeared in the Parliament-house, as they had been summoned, where finding no Accuser, now that *Rizio* was gone; the Parliament was deserted, and the Queen reconciled unto them, intending to use their Help against the Slayers of *Rizio*. Wherefore she went first to *Seton*, then to *Dumbar*, where she assembled a sufficient Number of Men, so that *Morton*, *Ruthven*, and their Partners, were fain to fly into *England*; but some of them lurked in the Highlands. Their Goods were confiscated; their Places and Offices disposed of to others; their Friends, who were nowise accessory to that Fact, were committed to Prison: Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, only because he was *Morton's* Kinsman, was sent first to *Dunbar*, then to *Kenmuir* in *Galloway*. It is true, it was his Brother-in-law's House, and *Lochinvar* was indeed a loving Brother; yet was it far from home, neither was he set free without Bail to re-enter when he should be required.

THUS were the Dice changed. *Morton* was at Court, when *Murray* and his Complices were banished: Now they are in Court, when he and his Associates are discourted and forced to fly. He had favoured them, but had not joined with them; they favour him, but think it not good to take part with him: Yet had they more Reason to do it, for his Fact had wrought out their Liberty; theirs had made him to be suspected. But whether they would not, or could not do him any good, or that they thought the Time was not fit, and a better Time was to be expected, the King (who was the chief Author and first Mover of it) having forsaken him, he was constrained to withdraw himself into *England*, as we have said. There he did not remain long in Ease and Quiet;

Quiet; for about the Beginning of May, the Queen sent Mr. *John Thornton* Chanter of *Murray*, desiring that he and the rest might not be suffered to harbour within the Queen of *England's* Dominions. She sent the same *Thornton* also to *France* with the like Message; but it needed not, for they never meant to go thither. Queen *Elizabeth* sent one of her Servants, *William Killigrew*, and by him promised to cause them void her Realm before Midsummer. It was done in shew; they were warned to depart, and did depart from *Newcastle*; abstained from conversing in Publick: But they lurked privately in a Place not far from *Alnwick*. No Search was made for them, and the Messenger had whispered them in the Ear, when he commanded them to be gone, that *England* was broad and wide. Before they came from *Newcastle*, he lost his good Friend the Lord *Rushven*, whom God called to his Rest in Mercy. Thus was he banished from *Scotland*, *England*, *France* and *Ireland*; yet did he lurk still in *England*.

The Lord
Rushven dies
there.

BUT he lurked not long; for Matters were in brewing at home, which gave occasion to his Return. The Earl *Bothwell* was now become the Queen's Favourite; all Men followed him, all Preferment came by him. His Thoughts were high, his Ambition no less than to enjoy the Queen, if she were free from a Husband. To bring this Design to pass, she was content to forget all private Quarrels with *Morton*; and he presumed that *Morton*, being abandoned of the King, and engaged to him for his Return and Restitution; as also being led with Hopes of his further Good-will, to gratify him in any thing that might be procured from the Queen, would be induced either to become his Friend, or at least not to be his Enemy, nor to raise or to side with any Faction against

Bothwell the
Queen's Fa-
vourite.

Morton re-
turns.

King James
born, 19th
June 1566.

against him; which he esteemed a great Point, and of much Importance. There was amongst *Bothwell's* Followers one Mr. *Archibald Douglas*, a Brother of the House of *Whittingham*; by his Mediation all former Quarrels were taken away on both Sides, and *Morton's* Peace procured from the Queen, on Condition he should not come within a Mile of the Court. This Restraint he reckoned to be rather beneficial than hurtful to him, seeing by that Means he should be the farther off from whatsoever should happen amiss. Wherefore being returned before the Queen was brought to bed of her Son *James VI.* he becomes a Spectator, beholding afar off what would be the Issue of Things. To sit on the Shore, and to behold others at Sea tossed with Wind and Wave, though it cannot but stir our Pity and Commiseration in common Humanity, yet when we reflect upon ourselves, and consider how happy we are that are on firm Land, free from these Fears and Dangers, the Joy and Contentment we have in our own Safety, doth swallow up the former Consideration of another's Danger. So it was with *Morton*; he saw what a fearful Tragedy was like to be acted at Court, but not being able to hinder it, he chose to keep at home. He was the King's Kinsman, yet could he do him no Good, having had Experience of his Weakness and Inconstancy in his forsaking of him after the killing of *Rizzio*. He was beholden to *Bothwell* for his restoring, and therefore bound not to oppose him. In Duty and Honesty he could not aid nor assist him in such Courses. Wherefore he useth the Benefit of his confining, and becomes a Looker on.

To declare the Estate of those Times, and to delate it, let them do it that can delight to blaze the Weakness of those whom they ought

to.

to love and honour, and who have that Task imposed upon them by whatsoever Necessity. For myself, neither am I any way necessitated thereunto, neither could my Soul ever delight in the Reproach of any. I wish I could cover the Sins of the World, they should never be uncovered or known, but where Necessity did require it, that so they might be taken away by Order: My Endeavour should rather be, with the blessed Sons of *Noah*, to overspread with the Mantle of Silence and Oblivion the Nakedness of those to whom we owe even a filial Duty and Piety. Concerning that Princess, my Heart inclineth more to Pity; I see good Qualities in her, and love them; I see Errors, and pity them: I see Gentleness, Courtesy, Humility, Beauty, Wisdom, Liberality; who can but affect these? If they be carried to Inconvenience, who can but lament it? In that Sex, in that Place, in that Education, in that Company; a Woman, a Princess, accustomed to Pleasure, to have their Will, by Religion, by Sight, by Example, by Instigation, by Soothing, and Approbation. Happy, yea thrice happy are they who are guided through these Rocks without Touch, nay without Shipwreck. I do advert more than I find set down by Writers, while I search into all the Causes which might have drawn on these lamentable Events. Besides the secret Loathings in the Estate of Marriage, which who knows but the Actors? bringing forth Dislike, then Quarrels on both Sides, then crossing and thwarting, then Hatred, then Desire to be freed: Besides all this, Impotency, and Desire of Revenge, being seconded with Shew of Reason, and backed with a Colour of Law and Justice; what will it not do? Her Husband had killed a Servant of hers, whom he had dragged violently out of her Bedchamber: Behold him there.

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therefore (as Lawyers, or such as pretended Skill in Law would alledge) guilty of Death in their Judgment. He was not crowned, but proclaimed King only by her sole Authority, never acknowledged by a Parliament; so he was but a private Man, and a Subject to her his Sovereign, as are the Wives and Children of Kings. Wherefore his Fact, in slaying *Rixio*, was flat Treason, for which he might have been arraigned, and suffered according to Law. But bearing the Name of a *King*, and having many Friends and Kindred, a legal Proceeding could hardly be attempted without great Difficulty, and might have caused an Insurrection and much Bloodshed, with uncertain Event. Wherefore, in Wisdom, the most convenient way was to do it privately and secretly: Secret Justice is Justice notwithstanding; Formalities are but for the common Course of Things. This was an extraordinary Case. Justice is absolutely necessary: The Form, whether this or that way, is indifferent, it may be altered or omitted; the Prince's Power may dispense with Forms, in case of Necessity or Conveniency, so the Substance be observed. Well, I conceive that a Prince upon such Suggestions, upon Dislike, in Anger and Indignation, might be drawn by his Counsellors; neither can I but conceive, that these Colours have been here

The King
murdered by
Bothwell,

represented, to perswade or to sooth. To be short, that Fact so lamentable, and which I can never remember without Affliction, every way in her own and her Husband's Person, done by the Earl *Bothwell*, he murdering her Husband, she marrying him; the Matter seemed extreme strange and odious in the Eyes of many. It is true, *Bothwell* was cleared, or rather not filed, by an Assize; but the Nobility judging him not to be sufficiently cleansed, but rather being fully perswaded that he

was

was the Author of the Murder, thought themselves bound in Duty to bring him to a further Trial. And howsoever he had married the Queen, yet did they not take themselves to be so far bound in Obedience to her, as in that regard to desist from all further enquiring into that Fact: Nay, it did rather move their Indignation to see him who had committed so vile and execrable a Murder, not only to escape *Scot-free*, but to reap so large and so rich a Reward, as was the Queen's own Person. Besides, they thought the Consequence might prove dangerous, if he who had massacred the Father, and married the Mother, should also have the Son (the only Bar and Let of his Ambition, to establish the Crown to himself and his Posterity) in his Power and Custody. These were given out as the Causes of their taking Arms, which were very plausible to the Vulgar, especially the Safety of the young Prince *James*. There is no question, they had also their own particular Respects, which are seldom wanting, and do commonly concur with the publick Cause: Wherefore The Nobility there joined together the Earls of *Argyle*, *Glen-ty bands acairn* and *Mar*, the Lords *Lindsay* and *Boyd*; gainst *Bothwell*. well. these bound themselves to pursue *Bothwell*, and to assist one another against whosoever would oppose them, especially to keep the young Prince from coming into *Bothwell's* Power: But *Argyle* repenting him, went the next Morning to the Queen, and revealed all the Matter; and the Lord *Boyd* also was at last perswaded, with many fair Promises, to forsake them, and join with *Bothwell*. The rest notwithstanding remained firm, with whom *Morton* took part: He thought he could do no less, being so near a Kinsman to the late King, and so to the young Prince. It is true, he had been beholding to *Bothwell*, but no Benefit

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Benefit could bind him to assist him in this Case; for by so doing, he should have given some colourable Ground to that Report, which had so spread itself, that it was believed in while about the Court of England, that *Murray* and he were Authors of the King's Murder. To have remained neutral, would have been but ill taken on both Sides. The Lord *Hume*, *Cesford* and *Buccleugh*, though they had not subscribed with the other Lords, yet did they hate *Bothwell*; and were suspected to incline to the contrary Faction. The Year preceding, *Bothwell* had made an Inroad upon *Liddisdale*, for the suppressing of Thieves, and apprehending of out-lawed Borderers, with bad Success, for he was wounded, and hardly escaped with his Life. This Year he resolves to repair his Honour, and by some notable Exploit to gain the Good-will of the People; which that he might the more easily do, the chief Men of the Name of *Ston* and *Kir*, who were likely to hinder him, were commanded to enter into Prison in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and there to remain till his Return. But they fearing some worse Meaning, went home to their Houses.

The Lord *Hume* also being summoned to enter, would not obey. Notwithstanding *Bothwell* and *Bothwell* well goeth on with his intended Journey, and at *Borthwick*, so the Queen and he come to *Borthwick* Castle, there to make all Things ready for this Expedition. The adverse Party thought this Place was not unfit to surprize him in it; and therefore they appointed their Rendezvous at *Dilberton*, whither *Morton* only came. The Earl of *Athole* (whether through his natural Slowness or Fearfulness, by his not keeping that Appointment) caused the rest to break also, and to stay still at *Stirling*. The Lord *Hume*, in hopes to have been seconded, went direct

ly to *Borthwick*, and lay about the Castle, but seeing no appearance of their coming, he kept such negligent Watch, that the Queen and *Bothwell* escaped, and went back to the Castle of *Dunbar*. The Lords thus frustrated, went to *Edinburgh*, to practise the Citizens there, and to draw them to their Side; which they easily effected. The Castle was kept by Sir *James Balfour*, whom *Bothwell* had made Captain thereof, and who had been his intimate Friend, and privy to all his Secrets: But upon some Distaste or Distrust, *Bothwell* had sought to put him out of the Place, which he finding, had made himself full Master thereof, and he was now entred in Terms of Agreement and Capitulation with the Lords to put it into their Hands, but had not yet concluded and transacted with them. There were in the City at this Time of the other Party, *John Hamilton* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, the Earl of *Huntly*, and *John Lesly* Bishop of *Ross*: These when they heard that the Lords were come into the City, came forth into the Street, hoping the Citizens would assist them, and help them to expel the Lords; but when they saw that few or none did resort to them, they fled to the Castle, where they were received; the Captain thereof not having as yet agreed with the Lords, and some few Days after were let out at a Postern, and so escaped. In the mean time the Queen had sent abroad to assemble her Forces. There came to her out of *Lothian* the Lords *Seton*, *Yester*, and *Borthwick*; small Barons, *Waughton*, *Bass*, and *Ormeiston*. Out of the *Merse*, Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, with his Uncle *Blackader*, notwithstanding their Chief the Lord *Hume*, and his Cousin German *Morton*, were on the other Side. Besides these, they had 200 hired Soldiers under the leading of Captain *Anstruther*, amounting in all to

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2500; with these they set forward from *Dunbar*, with Intention to go to *Leith*, that so they might be nearer the Enemy, and lose no Opportunity of taking Advantage of them. A wrong Course, and ill advised: Whereas if they had but staid a Space in the Castle of *Dunbar*, the Lords not having sufficient Forces to assault them there, nor Ordnance, or any other necessary Provision for a Siege, had been constrained to disperse themselves, and retire home to their own Houses; which if they had done, they might easily have been overthrown, being separated and scattered before they could have joined their Forces again. But there is a Director of all Things, who had not ordained that *Bothwell* should prosper in his Ways; which fell out also by his own Temerity, and the Counsel of Mr. *Edmund Hay* his Lawyer, who is said to have advised him thus; alledging that the Lords neither would nor durst abide their coming, but would presently fly upon the first Notice of their Approach; and that if they did but once shew themselves in the Fields, the Commons would all come flocking to them. But it fell out clean contrary; for neither did the People concur with them, because they hated *Bothwell*, and the Lords having once taken Arms, were enforced by Necessity to fight for their own Safety. Their Number was about 2000, most part Gentlemen of good Quality and Rank: Of the which the chief were, *Morton, Mar, Athole, Glencairn, Montrose*; the Lords *Hume, Lindsay, Ruthven, Semple, and Sanguhar*; small Barons, *Cesford, Drumlanrig, Tullibardine, Grange*. They had no Artillery, neither any Musketeers, save a few from *Edinburgh*. They caused to be drawn on their Ensigns, the late King lying dead, and his young Son the Prince *James* sitting on his Knees with his Hands lifted up to Heaven,

Heaven, with this Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cause, O LORD.* While they were in *Edinburgh*, Word was brought to them about Midnight that the Queen and *Bothwell* were come to *Seton* and *Salt-Preston*, within six Miles of them. Whereupon they made haste, and having armed, went speedily towards *Musleburgh*, lest the Enemy should seize the Bridge and Fords of the River, which was within two Miles of *Preston*. So having passed it without Disturbance a little after the Sun-rising, finding that the Enemy did not stir, they took their Refreshment, and broke their Fast at leisure. Not long after, those whom they had sent before to scour the Fields, and to give Notice what the Enemy was about, having perceived a few Horsemen without the Village, drove them back again; but not daring to follow them, for fear of some Ambuscade, could learn nothing else, save that the Enemy was ready to march. Hereupon the Lords also began to set forward towards them, and being now without the Town of *Musleburgh*, they perceived the Enemy, ranged in Order of Battle, all along *Carberry-hill*, ready to encounter them. The Hill was steep, and the Ascent difficult on that Side; wherefore they turned a little to the right Hand, where they might with more Ease and less Disadvantage ascend, the Hill being there much plainer, and the Ground more level. This deceived the Enemy, who seeing them turn aside, supposed they had fled to *Dalkeith*, which belonged to *Morton*, and lay on that Hand. But they being come where they would have been, set their Men in Order, having the Sun on their Backs, and in the Face of the Enemy, which was no small Advantage, for the Day was exceeding hot, being the 5th of June 1567: Besides, the Townsmen of *Dalkeith* did furnish

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them sufficiently with Drink, together with other Villages that lay on that hand. But on *Bothwell's* side it was not so; there was no such Alacrity and Readiness in the People to supply them; no Foresight in themselves to provide; no Cheerfulness in the Army, but most of them wavering between their Duty to the Queen, and their Suspicion of *Bothwell's* Guiltiness. Yet did they not offer to forsake her, neither would they have done it, for any thing we hear of, if *Bothwell* durst have stood to it. But his self-accusing Conscience struck his Mind with such Terror and Dread, that knowing what he had deserved, he judged other Mens Minds to be accordingly affected towards him; and seeing Head made against him beyond his Expectation, he began to doubt of the Fidelity of those that were come to take part with him: Especially he distrusted *Sir David Hume of Wedderburn*, in regard of his Friendship and Kindred with the Lord *Hume* and Earl of *Morton*. Wherefore he moved the Queen to ask him, whether he would abide constantly by her, and perform his Part faithfully? He answered freely, That he was come to serve her as his Sovereign, out of Duty and in Sincerity, which he would do to the utmost of his Power, against whomsoever, without respect of whatsoever Friendship or Kindred with any. *Blackader* said the like, and added withal, speaking to *Bothwell*, *I wish, my Lord, you stay as well by it as we shall*. That which made them the more to fear *Sir David* was, because a Servant of his, as he went to drink at a Well not far from the Enemy, was taken and brought to *Morton*, who hearing whose Man he was, dismissed him, and bade him tell his Master from him, *That if he were the Man he should be, he alone might put an End to that Day's Work*: Which it is like enough he might

and his Uncle the Earl of Morton, might have done, if either he would have revolted to the Lords, or forsaken *Bothwell*, and gone home. The rest of the Nobles and Gentlemen being in like manner exhorted by the Queen to fight valiantly, promised that for their own Parts they would do it faithfully; but they said, the Hearts of the common Soldiers were averse from *Bothwell*, and thought it more reasonable that he should adventure his own Person in his own Quarrel for maintaining his Innocence, than that either her Majesty, or so many of her good Subjects, should adventure or endanger their Lives for him. But if she were resolved to try the Hazard of a Battle, it was her best to defer it till the next Day, that the *Hamiltons*, who were on their Journey, might join with them. As they were about to join Battle, the French Ambassador *La Croque* would have mediated a Peace, and came to the Lords, promising to obtain their Pardon at the Queen's Hands for what was past, and that none of them should ever be called in question for their taking Arms against her, so that they would now lay them down, and proceed no further. *Morton* made Answer, That they had not taken Arms against the Queen, but against *Bothwell*, who had murdered their King; whom if her Majesty would be pleased to abandon, they would quickly make it appear that they desired nothing more than to continue in all dutiful Obedience and Allegiance to her, as became loyal Subjects; but so long as *Bothwell* remained unpunished, they could not in Duty and Conscience be so forgetful of their late King, as not to avenge his Murder. *La Croque* not being able to perswade them, retired to *Edinburgh*. All hope of Peace and Agreement being cut off, *Bothwell* being jealous of his Soldiers, and either intending in good earnest to fight, or for a Bravado, sent a Trumpet to the

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Lords to declare his Innocence; in Confidence whereof, if any would accuse him, and stand to his Allegation, he was ready to maintain his Cause against whosoever would attack him, in Duel, and single Combat. There were two of the Lords Faction that undertook to make it good against him, *William Kirkaldy of Grange*, and *James Murray* Brother to *Tullibardine*; but he rejected these, as not being his Equals, and Peers, he being an Earl, and they but Gentlemen only. Wherefore he challenged *Morton* by Name: He accepted of the Challenge, and appointed the Weapons two handed Swords, and to fight on Foot. But the Lord *Lindsay* stepping forth, besought *Morton* and the rest, That for all the Service that ever his Predecessors or himself had done, or could do unto the Country, that they would do him that Honour as to suffer him to undertake that Combat; which he said did also duly belong unto him, in regard of his nearness of Blood to the defunct King. They condescended, and *Bothwell* having nothing to except against him, they prepared on both sides. *Morton* gave *Lindsay* the Sword which had been Earl *Archibald's*, (commonly called *Bell the Cat*) wherewith he cut asunder *Spence's* Thigh, as is shewed in his Life. With this (which *Lindsay* wore ever after) and a Buckler, as the Manner then was, he presents himself before the Army, to attend *Bothwell's* coming; but the Queen would not suffer him to fight, and interposing her Authority, commanded him to desist, Then she sent a Herald to the Lords, requiring them to send *Grange* to her, that she might confer with him, and that in the mean time the Army should stand quiet. While the Queen did parley with *Grange*, *Bothwell* (as it had been fore-plotted) conveys himself secretly out of the Army, and fled to *Dunbar*. When the Queen had talked

so long with *Grange*, as that *Bothwell* had time enough to escape, and be out of their Reach, free from all Danger of being overtaken, she went with him to the Lords; and desiring them to suffer her Army to depart in Safety, which they easily granted, she dismissed them. Then she requested, that she might go to the *Hamiltons*, who were not far off, at *Corstorphine*, to give them Thanks for their Good-will, promising faithfully to return; whereupon she desired *Morton* to pass his Word, and be Surety for her. A strange Request for her to ask in such a Case; far stranger for them to have granted, or for *Morton* to have undertaken that which lay not in his Power to see performed. *Bothwell* had escaped to their great Grief and Discontentment; the Queen only remained, the Pledge of Peace, and Foil of their Enemies, who, wanting her, did want a Head. Therefore her Suit was denied, and she brought to *Edinburgh*.

THERE a Consultation was held, what were fittest to be done with her. Amongst great Diversity of Opinions, *Morton* would by no means yield to have her Life meddled withal, desiring only that some such Course might be taken, as that the professed Religion might not be prejudiced, and that they themselves might be secured from future Danger. Yet there were some that pressed the Matter very hard against him, alledging that there was no Possibility, either to preserve Religion, or secure themselves, so long as she were alive. Promises were to no purpose, and of no Value: They might be easily eluded, as proceeding from a just Fear and Compulsion, as they would call it. And to imprison her were no better; seeing there would not want a Party ere long to set her free. And though there were no Party, yet she herself might use Means to escape.

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and others might help her; yea, without all these, Time and Occasion would work her Delivery. Nay, some went so far with him, as to denounce GOD's Judgments against him, as a Hinderer of the Execution of Justice, which he himself should feel upon his own Person, because he would not give way to it in the Person of another. For it is but Justice, (said they) else if it be unlawful, so is the detaining of her unlawful, and whatsoever we have done is unlawful, and flat Treason. All this notwithstanding, Morton would not consent unto it, but made Answer, That howsoever they had gone thus far, being drawn to it by Necessity, for the Preservation of Religion, the Good of their Country, their own Honour and Credit, and even led by Nature to look to their own Safety, yet they ought not to meddle with the Life of their Sovereign. To secure themselves, it was sufficient to have her kept in some Place of Surety and Strength, which he thought even too much, if he could see any other Remedy. And so it was concluded, that she should be sent to Lochleven, there to be kept by William Douglas Owner thereof, a very honest Gentleman, and who had sided with neither Party.

AND although the same Matter was agitate again, while she remained in Lochleven, the 25th of August, at a solemn Meeting of the Estates, after Murray was come home and had accepted the Regency, and many did incline to have her executed; some out of Zeal to Religion, and Love of Justice, as they deemed it; some out of Love to the Hamiltons, who by her Death would be but one Step from the Crown: Yet Morton stuck to his former Opinion and Resolution. She was no sooner committed, but some began to plot her Delivery; supposing that undoubtedly she would get out at last by one Mean or other, they strove to

anti-

anticipate her Favour, and make her beholden to them for that which could not fail to come to pass. Neither did they fear the Consequence, if once she were set at Liberty; for they made no Question to make their Party good: The Authority was hers; Time would make the Peoples Hearts to relent, and fold to their natural Princess: The Faction that was against her was the weaker; and Diversity of Opinions would bring forth Division amongst them.

Of those that sought her Favour, Sir William Mailand Secretary was one. His Dislike and Hatred of Bothwell, had made him join with the Lords; being now rid of him, he returned to his old Bias again, and bent his Course towards her: But not daring to do it openly, he wrote privately to her, and assured her of his Good-will, and promised his best Endeavour to serve her; and that howsoever his Power was none of the greatest, he shewed that he might prove steadable to her by the Apologue of the Lion, which being taken in a Net, was delivered from thence by the Help of a Mouse, that did shear the Net, and cut it in Pieces with her Teeth.

MORTON did constantly prosecute the Course begun, with great Courage and Wisdom, overcoming all Difficulties before the Earl of Murray's Return, (who had gone to France in the Beginning of these Troubles) which were neither small nor few. His Associates found them more than they had expected. They had promised themselves the Approbation of all Men, and that all would join with them, at least the best affected; it fell out otherwise; Time diminished Envy; Change of their Princess's State begat Pity, Fear of the Event kept aloof, Doubt of Duty restrained some, and Desire of Rest and Security,

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ty, others: So that no new Forces came to them; but, on the contrary, some of their own Side forsook them, and went to the other: new Hopes not only cooling, but even changing their Affections. Wherefore they were much perplexed, and had it not been for *Morton*, they had quite deserted the Cause: But he perswaded them to keep together at *Edinburgh*, and to write to the other Lords that were assembled at *Hamilton*, to desire them to come to *Edinburgh*, that so they might consult together what were fittest to be done for the Good and Peace of the Kingdom. But they would neither receive Letter nor Message, saying, it was great Presumption in them to have possessed themselves of the chief City, and to offer to send for them, and not to come to them, who were, as they thought the stronger, and had the better Cause. The others, to give them Satisfaction in that Point, caused the Ministers of *Edinburgh* to write to them jointly, as also severally to their particular Friends and Acquaintances, both to excuse that which they took Exception at (which they told they had done, not because they did challenge or claim any Pre-eminence or Prerogative to themselves beyond them, or for any other Cause, save only the Conveniency of the Place for both Parties to meet in) and withall to exhort them, that in so perilous a Time, setting aside all particular Respects and Quarrels, they would have a care of the common Good of the Country. But these Letters prevailed no more than the former: Yet though they would not concur with them, they did nothing against them; whether because they were not able, they being within the Town of *Edinburgh*, or, because they did not agree among themselves, or that they wanted a Commission, and a sufficient Warrant from the Queen, they dissolved, and

return,

returned every Man to his own Home. This Attempt to have kept some Form of Meeting and Parliament in the Queen's Name, admonished the Lords to take away that which would bear greatest Shew against them, the Queen's Authority. Wherefore they deal with her to resign it to her Son, which she was very loath to do; yet at last she consented to it; and having subscribed a formal Renunciation and Demission; she made also, and signed a Procuracion, or Letters of Attorny, to cause crown her Son at *Stirling*, or where they pleased. She named likewise his Curators, *Murray*, (if he would accept of it at his Return) failing him, these seven, the Duke, (*Hamilton*) *Lennox*, the Child's Grandfather, *Argyle*, *Morton*, *Glencairn*, *Mar*, and *Athole*. It was presently put in Execution, for within two Days, the 26th of *July*, the Prince *K. James VI.* was crowned at *Stirling*, being then thirteen crowned Months and eight Days old. *Morton* and the Lord *Hume* took the Oath for him, That he should observe the Laws, and maintain the Religion then professed. Mr. *Knox* made the Sermon, and the Coronation was also performed by him, and two Superintendents.

HAVING gained this Point, they had now this Advantage over the others, that not only were their Enemies deprived of the Countenance and Colour of Authority, but they themselves were armed therewith. And thus they remained till *Murray's* Return, who at first would not accept of the Place, which by the Queen's Direction was reserved for him; but being pressed by the rest, that they might have an established and certain Head, he yielded to their Requests, and took the Place and Charge of Regent upon him. From this time forward, *Murray* being Regent, according as did belong unto his Place, he was chief Com-

mander in every thing; yet was he assisted
 by *Morton's* faithful Counsel and Advice, who
 did also many times supply the publick Wants
 with his private Means, in Times of greatest
 Necessity; especially when *Bothwell* was to be
 pursued, who having put forth to Sea, and
 being turned Pirate, lay about *Orkney*, robbing
 all that came in his Way, without Fear of be-
 ing followed, knowing well that there was no
 Money in the Treasury, (he himself having
 emptied it) to rig out any Shipping against
 him. Then did *Morton* on his own Charges
 provide Vessels, hire Mariners and Soldiers to
 go out after him. This was the Fruit of his
 good Husbandry, and the good Use he made
 of his Parsimony and Managery. *Grange* was
 sent Admiral, who came so suddenly upon
 him, that he had well nigh taken him before
 he was aware, yet he escaped in a light Pin-
 nace over a Craig in the Sea, with such Ha-
 zard, that it is thought to have grazed upon
 it. The Lion which followed after, being a
 Ship of greater Bulk and Burden, and which
 drew more Water, stuck fast upon it, so that
 the Men were constrained to betake them-
 selves to their Cock-boat. The Bishop of
Orkney, (*Bathwell* to his Name, who was
 Father to the Lord *Holy-rood-house*) was
 left in the Ship, and seeing the Boat loosing,
 called to them to stay for him; but they being
 already sufficiently laden, would not hear
 him. He seeing no other Remedy, leapt into
 the Boat, having on him a Corselet of Proof,
 which was thought a strange Leap, especially
 not to have overturned the Boat. Thus the
 Men were all saved, and the Earl *Bathwell*
 sailed to *Denmark*; there being examined what
 he was, and whence he came, when he did
 not answer clearly and distinctly, he was cast
 into Prison.

Earl Both-
 well a Py-
 rate.

Is pursued.

Flees to
 Denmark.

into Prison, and having lien there ten Years,
at last he died in a durance.

Dies mad.

The 14th of December, a Parliament was
held at Edinburgh, where most part of the No-
bility were present, and amongst others, the
Earl of Huntly, which when the Queen heard
of, she said, *Bothwell might as well have been*
there as he; meaning that they were both alike
guilty. In this Parliament, the Queen's Re-
signation of the Crown, the King's Coronation,
and Murray's Regency were confirmed; their
Ea^{ch} was approved that had taken the Queen
at Carberry, and William Douglas was autho-
rized to keep her still in the Castle of Loch-
lewin.

there.

Earl Both-
well & Ly-
ons

Things being thus settled, the Regent be-
ing acknowledged of all, and his Authority
ratified, Religion established, and the Fear of
Bothwell removed, they seemed to be in great
Sundry, yet were they never less sure, for these
very things which seemed to make them strong
and sure, were the Causes of Change; for ma-
ny did envy the Regent, some hated Religion,
and others there were, that being rid of *Both-*
well, applied themselves to the Queen, whom
only out of Hatred to *Bothwell*, they had for-
saken. Of the last Sort was Secretary *Mait-*
land, of the second *Tullibardine*, who had al-
so some Particular against the Regent, which
Writers do not specify. The *Hamiltons* were
of the first Rank, who thought themselves in-
jured by him, and esteemed his Office due to
them, together with *Argyle*, whose Mother,
and *Huntly* whose Wife, was of the House of
Hamilton. These had some Hopes from *France*,
where *Bacon* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, lay as
Lieger for the Queen, and fed them with fair
Promises of Men and Money. Yet they car-
ried things very closely, and made Shew of
Friendship to those of the King's Side, till such

Time

is printed

Printed
at Edinburgh

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Time as the Queen escaped out of *Lochlevin*, by the Means of *George Douglas* Brother to *William of Lochlevin*, and to the Regent also by his Mother. This *George* had corrupted a natural Brother of his, who was often trusted by *William* with the Keys of the Castle. One Day *William* being at Dinner, this Man desired the Keys of him, as he had done divers times before, to let out the Queen's waiting Gentlewoman; and having gotten them, he let out the Queen herself in her Gentlewoman's Apparell, and masked. He also went out with her; and having locked the Gates, threw the Keys into the Lake, and rowed the Queen over in a Boat to the Lake-side, where *George* and *Tullibardine* were staying for her with nine Horse only. Our Writers say it was without the Mother's Knowledge; but others affirm that she had a Hand in it, being moved with Pity and Commiseration to see her Prince's in such a State; and, upon the Queen's Promise to prefer her Son *George*, and pardon her other Friends that were on her contrary Faction; amongst which we hear no mention of *Murray*. *Morton* also was left out; only it was agreed upon that his Forfeiture should not prejudice their Right to the Earldom of *Morton*. This fell out the second Day of May, 1568.

The Queen
escapes out
of *Lochlevin*
May 2, 1568.

SHE went that Night to *Niddery*, where by the Way the Lord *Seton* and *John Hamilton* of *Orbiston* did meet her; and the next Day they went to *Hamilton* with 500 Horse. The Regent was then at *Glasgow* keeping of Justice Courts. When these News were brought to him, some counselled him to go to *Stirling* where the King was, and where he would be stronger; but *William Douglas* of *Drumlanrig*, not having the Patience to stay till it came to his Turn to speak, and before his Opinion was asked;

asked; If you do so, my Lord, says he, I will get me straight to the Queen as Boyd hath done. For Boyd indeed was gone to her; with Intention (as he would have made them believe) to play Hushai's Part; for he wrote back to Morton by his Son, that he would be more steadable, and do them better Service being with her, than if he should remain with them. There is a Proverb, a Foot backward a Mile backward, a Mile a million, and so never forward; whereby is signified, that there is much Moment in the Beginnings and first Efforts, and great Danger in recoiling and letting slip the present Opportunity. So thought Drumlanrig, and the Lord Semple also was of his Mind; Morton did confirm their Opinion, and reduced at large how necessary it was for them to stay still in Glasgow, shewing that it was their best to make all the haste they could, and that their Safety did consist in Celerity, in regard, that so soon as it were known that she were at Liberty, the Opinion of her Authority, and Name of a Queen, would daily draw more and more Followers to her, especially seeing the most remote Parts of the Kingdom were most affectionate to her Service. We are enough here, said he, together with the Town's Men (who being Enemies to the Hamiltons, we need not doubt of their Fidelity) to keep this Place and make it good against them; The Cunninghams and Semples, potent Families, are hard at Hand, and so is the Lennox, the King's own Patrimony; neither is Douglassdale very far off, nor Stirling-shire, and the Earl of Mar's Forces; these will suffice to oppose the Enemy, till such Time as our Friends that dwell further off, be advertised. Morton's Judgment was respected, and his Opinion followed; whereupon Messengers were immediately dis-

Battle of
Langside the
20th of May
1568.

dispatched, and sent into *Lothian* and the
Muske, and other Parts which lay far off, to
give them notice of their Danger, and of their
Intentions; and to desire them to make all the
haste that possibly they could to come to their
Aid and Assistance. The first that came was
the Lord *Hume* with 600 Horse, the ninth of
May; upon his Arrival they intended to go
directly to *Hamilton*, and dare the Enemy, and
force him to fight. But that same Night, ere
Morning, Word was brought them, that they
were gathering their Forces, and mustering
their Men to take the Field; for having
gotten together 6000 Men, and knowing
by certain Intelligence, that there were not
above 4000 with the Regent, confiding in their
Number, they purposed to carry the Queen
to the Castle of *Dumbarton*, where she remain-
ing in a Place of Safety, they might manage
and prosecute the War according to their Plea-
sure; and either use Expedition therein, or
draw it out at length, and linger as they should
see Cause, and find it most for their Advan-
tage. The Regent guessing what their Aim
was, led also his Army forth into *Glasgow*
muir, supposing they would have gone that
Way; but when he saw them on the South-
side of the River *Clyde*, he made Haste, and
crossed the River at the Bridge and Fords to
be before them in their Way. I have heard
it reported by those that live thereabout, That
the Queen's Soldiers did essay to pass the Ri-
ver, and come to that Side where the Regent
was; but one or two of the foremost being
slain by his Men, the rest refused to go on
with such Hazard and Disadvantage; and there-
fore they took the Way of *Rutherglen*, which
leads to *Dumbarton*. The Regent perceiving
their Intent, commanded the Horsemen to
hve them quickly to *Langside-hill*, which they
did;

did; and the rest of the Army followed them so fast, as that they were all got thither before the Enemy understood their Meaning. Two things made for the Regent's Advantage, one was Argyle's Sickness, who being overtaken with a sudden Fit of an Epilepsy or Apoplexy, the Army halted, and thereby gave the Regent Time to choose his Ground, though he came a further Way about. The other was, their Confidence in their Number, and despising of the small Number of their Enemies, who were indeed fewer than they, yet were they more than they were aware of: For having marched over Hills and Dales, they never had a full View of them, to know their Number aright and perfectly. When they came within a litle of the Hill, perceiving that it was already taken by the Regent, they retired to another litle Hill just over against it, where they drew up their Companies, and put their Men in Order. Argyle was Lieutenant, and led the Reerward, with him there was the Earls of Cassils, Eglinton and Rothes, the Lords Seton, Somervell, Yester, Borthwick, Sanquhar, Boyd and Ross, with divers Gentlemen of good Quality. The Van-guard was committed to Cland Hamilton of Paisly, Son to the Duke, and Sir James Hamilton of Evendale, consisting most of Hamiltons, together with their Friends and Followers. James Stewart of Castleton, and Arthur Hamilton of Mirnington, were Commanders of the Musketiery, who were about 300. The Lord Harris commanded the Horsemen, which were most part Borderers, Dependens and Servants to his Brother the Lord Maxwell. The Regent did likewise divide his Men in two Battles, the Van-guard was conducted by Morton, with whom were the Lord Hume and Semple. The Regent himself was in the Reer, and with him Mar, Glencairn, Monteith, the Lords Ruthven, Ochil-

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Ochiltree and *Catheart*, with the finall Barons of the *Lennox*, and the Citizens of *Glasgow*. The Horsemen were committed to *William Douglas* of *Drumlanrig* and *Alexander Hume* of *Manderston* and *John Carmichael* of *Carmichael*. They were inferior in Horse, and therefore, upon the first Encounter they retired, and fell back to the Foot-men, who made out to succour them, and drave back the Enemy's Horse by the Means of the Highlanders especially who bestowed a Flight of Arrows amongst them, and so galled them, that they could no longer endure it. The Queen's Van-guard coming to join Battle with the Van-guard of the Enemy, marched through a narrow Lane, near unto which the Regent's Shot were placed in the Yards, Gardens and Orchards of the Village of *Langside*, so conveniently, that they being at Covert, did annoy the Enemy, and shoot at them as at a Mark; without any Danger or Hurt to themselves. In this Lane many were slain before they could get through; and having passed it, they were assaulted by *Morton* very fiercely with Pikes and Spears, and other long Weapons on both Sides of the Lane. They fought very eagerly a while, in so much, that when their long Weapons were broken, being so close together, that they could not draw their Swords, they fell to it with Daggers and Stones, and whatsoever came readiest to Hands. In the midst and Heat of the Fight, *Mackfarlane* with his Highlanders fled out of the last Ranks of the Regent's Companies (as our Writers say) but indeed it was from this Wing where they were placed, as I have heard it of those that were present. The Lord *Lindsay*, who stood next to him in the Regent's own Battle, when he saw them go away, *Let them go, saith he, and be not afraid, I shall supply their Place*; and withal stepping for-

forward with his Company charged the Enemy afresh. Their long Weapons being broken, and themselves well nigh overcome before, they were not able to sustain a new Impression, but turned their Backs and fled. The Regent and his Squadron stood still and kept their Ranks and Places, till they saw that the Victory was clearly theirs, and that the Enemy did flee disorderly; then they also brake their Order and followed the Chase, in which more were killed than in the Fight, and that most part by the Highlanders; who seeing that their Side had the Day, returned and made great Slaughter, to make amends for their former flying. There were many wounded, and many taken, but 300 slain, who had been many more, had not the Regent sent Horsemen throughout all Quarters, with Command to spare the Flyers. There were taken of Note, the Lords *Seton* and *Ross*, Sir *James Hamilton*, the Sheriff of *Air* and *Linlithgow*, with others. On the Victor's Side one Man only slain, *John Balony* of *Preston* in the *Merse*, a Servant of *Morton's*: Few hurt, the Lord *Hume* with a Stone on the Face very ill, and *Andrew Stewart* Lord *Ochiltree*, by the Lord *Harris*. The Queen, who stood as a Spectator about a Mile off, seeing the Field lost, fled away with the Lord *Harris*, and his Horsemen: For after he was repulsed by the Regent's Van-guard, and the Highlanders, he went to her and staid by her. From thence she fled to *England*, suspecting the Lord *Harris's* Fidelity. Some do reckon amongst the Causes of this Victory, a Contention which fell out between *John Stewart* and *Arthur Hamilton*, two Captains of the Queen's Musketeers, who, that Morning, before they set out, strove for Precedency; and the Matter being referred to the Queen's Decision, she adjudged.

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judged it to Stewart for the Name's Sake, and because he had been sometime Captain of her Guard. Hamilton took this so ill, that when they came near to the Enemy, he cried out aloud, *Where are now these Stewarts that did contest for the first Place, let him now come and take it.* The other hearing him, answered presently, *And so I will; neither shalt thou, nor any Hamilton in Scotland set his Foot before me to Day.* Whereupon they rushed forward unadvisedly, and were followed as inconsiderately by *Claud Hamilton of Paisly*, with the Van-guard, which was the Occasion of their Discomfiture. The Battle was fought the 13th of May, eleven Days after the Queen came out of *Lochlevin*. The Regent returned to *Glasgow*, and, after publick Thanksgiving for the Victory, and mutual Congratulation, the rest of the Day was spent in taking Order with the Prisoners. *Morton* sought to have had the Lord *Seaton* in his Keeping, but he was withstood by *Andrew Ker of Fawdounside*, whose Prisoner he was, whether out of Fear of hard Dealing towards him, or lest he should lose his Thanks in saving of him, wherefore *Morton* modestly desisted.

THE Day after they went into *Cliddisdale*, and cast down *Drassin*, and some Houses that belonged to the *Hamiltons*. Afterwards there was a Day appointed for a Convention of the States at *Edinburgh*; for staying of which the other Faction did use all possible Means. They caused Rumours to be spread of some Help to come out of *France*, which had come indeed under the Conduct of *Martignu* (of the House of *Luxemburg*) but that the Civil Wars at home made him to be called back again. The Earl of *Argyle* came to *Glasgow* with 600 Horse, and had some Conference with the *Hamiltons*, and others of that Faction; but they

not

not agreeing, he went home again and did nothing. Huntly also with a thousand Men was coming towards *Edinburgh*, and was on his Journey as far as the Water of *Earn*; but the Bridges and Foords being guarded by the Lord *Ruthven*, he went likewise home again. Last of all they procured Letters from the Queen of *England*, in which she desired that they would delay the Meeting till such Time as she were informed of their Proceedings and Justness of their Cause, why they took Arms against their Queen, her Cousin, of whose Wrongs she behoved to take Notice, and be sensible. It was hard to offend her, but harder to suffer their Adversaries to gain the Point they aimed at, which was in the Queen's Name, and by her Authority to keep a Meeting, and to forfeit all those who were on the King's Side, having already appointed a Day for that Purpose. Wherefore they go on with their Convention, and punish some few, for Example, to terrify others. And for suppressing the daily Incursions of the *Nithsdale*, *Annandale* and *Galloway* Men, they raised an Army of 5000 Horse, and 1000 Musketeers; which Expedition, because it was memorable for the extreme Scarcity of Victuals when they came to *Hoddam*, was called the *Rode of Hoddam*. They set forth from *Edinburgh* the 11th of *June*, and returned thither again the 26th.

The Rode
of Hoddam.

THE chief thing that they did in that Journey, was, that they seized the Houses of *Beghall*, *Crawford*, *Sanguhar*, *Lochwood*, *Hoddam*, *Lochmaben* and *Annand*. *Lochmaben* is a House of the King's, and was then in the Lord *Maxwell*'s Keeping, but now being surrendered, *Drumlanrig* is made Keeper of it, who was also made Warden of the West Marches. As soon as the Regent was gone from thence with his

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his Army, *Maxwell's* Folks, who had hidden themselves in some secret Corner of the Castle, turned out *Drumlanrig's* Men, and repossessed themselves thereof again. *Lochwood* belonged to *Johnston*, *Hoddam* to the Lord *Harris*; and the rest to their several Lords and Owners, which were all spared, on Hope of their promised Obedience; only *Skirling* was razed, and *Kenmuir*, a House of *Lochinvar's*, who was obstinate, and would not yield upon any Condition. The Regent and *Morton* sent Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn* to him, who was Brother to his Wife; but no Entreaty or Threatning could prevail with him, or move him to submit himself. When they threatned to pull down his House, he said, they should by so doing save him a Labour; for he meant to take it down himself, and build it up again better; which was performed on both Sides; for it was cast down the 16th of *July*, and he afterwards re-edified it much better. Many yielded, divers stood out, of whom there came a thousand within a Mile of the Regent's Camp. Who were their Heads, is not mentioned, but as yet *Maxwell*, *Johnston*, *Lochinvar*, and *Cowhill* were not come in; and whether it were any of these, or some other, we have not learned. *Morton* and the Lord *Hume*, with a thousand Horse went out against them, but they were gone before they came near, and fled to Bogs and waste Marshes.

The Regent
goes to Eng-
land.

IN their Return, at *Peebles*, they received Letters again from the Queen of *England*, wherein she renewed her former Request to them, that they would send some up to her to inform her of the Equity of their Cause. The Regent himself undertakes the Journey, with whom went *Morton*, *Lindsay*, the Bishop of *Orkney*, Mr. *Pitcairn* Abbot of *Dunfermline*

line. Sir William Maisland Secretary, Mr. James Mackgill, Mr. Henry Balnaves, and Mr. George Buchanan. The Queen having heard their Justification and Defences, made Answer, That she saw nothing for the present to object against their Proceedings, yet she desired them to leave some of their Company behind, to answer to such Things as might be objected afterwards by their Queen's Ambassadors. While they are there, the Duke of Chastelherault came over out of France, and desired the Queen of England to cause Murray give over the Regent's Place to him, being, as he alledged, his Due, seeing he was next Heir to the Crown. But the Queen perceiving that he intended to make some Stir, and to raise new Troubles in Scotland, commanded him to stay, and not depart till he were licensed. The Regent with his Company was dismissed, and returned into Scotland the 2d of February. Within a while after, the Duke returned also, being made Lieutenant for the imprisoned Queen, and adopted to be her Father. He sent forth his Proclamations, commanding that no Authority should be obeyed but his, which no Man would obey: And that none might fear him, the Regent went to Glasgow with an Army, and there Hamilton came to him, and promising to acknowledge the King and Regent's Authority, he gave Pledges to be kept, till such Time as he should do it, prefixing a Day when he would come in. When the Day was come, he came to Edinburgh, and began to shift, and desire a longer Day, while he might have the Queen's Consent. Then being asked what he would do, if the Queen would not give her Consent? He answered, That he would do nothing, and what he had done already, he had done it out of Fear. Hereupon he and the Lord Harris were sent to Prison
in

in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The next to be taken order with, were *Argyle* and *Huntly*; both had been busy in the Regent's Absence, but not alike. *Argyle* had only shown himself in the Fields, but had done Hurt to no Man. *Huntly's* Case was worse; he had vexed the *Mearns* and *Angus*, made Lieutenants about the Water of *Dee*, and behaved himself in all things as if he had been King. After much Debate, *Argyle* was only made to take an Oath that he should be obedient in Time coming, and *Huntly* was also pardoned, save that he was ordained to make Satisfaction and Restitution to the Parties who were robbed and spoiled by him and his Followers. For the Performance of which, the Regent and *Morton* went to *Aberdeen*, *Elgin* and *Inverness*, with two Companies of Harquebussers, and Musketers, where, having received Hostages and Sureties of *Huntly*, they return to *Perth*, to hold a Convention of the States.

1569.
A Convention
at *Perth*.

THITHER were brought two Packets of Letters from the two Queens. The Queen of *England* made three Propositions, *First*, That the King's Mother might be restored to her former Place and Crown. *Secondly*, That if they would not yield to that, yet that her Name might be used in all Writs, and joined with her Sons, and that the Government should continue in the Regent's Hands. The *third* and last was, That if none of these could be granted, she might be suffered to live a private Life, as another Subject, with as much Respect and Honour as could be given to her, without Prejudice of the King. This last was accepted, the rest rejected. Queen *Mary* in her Letters desired that the Judges might determine of her Marriage with *Bothwell*, and if it were found to be unlawful, that they would declare it to be null, and pronounce her

her free from him. To this they answered, That they saw no Reason of such Haste, he being absent and out of the Country beyond Sea, the Laws allowed him threescore Days after he was summoned at the Shore and Peir of *Leith*, before which Time was expired, the Judges could not give out any Sentence. But if she had such a Mind to be rid of him, her shortest Cut were, to write to the King of *Denmark* to execute him for his Murder and Pyraçy. The Reason why they would not have her Marriage with *Bothwell* dissolved, was, to hinder her matching with the Duke of *Norfolk*, who would not adventure upon Uncertain- ties, and he could not be sure, so long as her Marriage with *Bothwell* stood firm, he being alive, and no legal Divorce had been yet obtained. So they thought by this Dilator they would gain Time, and Time might work out some better Effect than did appear for the present: For the Regent's Friends in *England* had written to him, That *Norfolk's* Plot and the Queen's was so laid, so strong and cunningly conveyed, that no Power, Wit, or Wisdom was able to resist it; yea, though all the rest of *Britain* would oppose it, yet he remained stedfast, and sent to the Queen of *England* one of his Domesticks, to acquaint her with Queen *Mary's* Petition, and their Answer. But she not being satisfied with the Bearer, *Robert Pittairn*, Abbot of *Dunfermline*, was sent to her from a Convention holden at *Stirling* for the Nonce. About the very same time that he came to *London*, the Duke of *Norfolk* was committed to the Tower, the 11th of *October*, and the Conspiracy discovered, the Party still remaining so strong, that she not daring to meddle with Queen *Mary*, was purposed to have sent her into *Scotland* by Sea; but things beginning to settle, she altered that

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Convention
at Stirling.

solution. Now, in confidence of this so strong a Party, Secretary *Maitland* had taken himself to that Side, and stirred up all he could against the Regent. He had so dealt with the Lord *Hume* and *Grange*, Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, that he had brought them over to that Party. Hereupon he is sent for to *Stirling*, whether he came, and brought along with him the Earl of *Athole* to intercede for him, if Need were. There *Thomas Crawford*, afterwards Captain *Crawford*, a Follower of the Earl of *Lennox*, accused him of being accessory to the late King's Death; whereupon he was committed to a close Chamber in the Castle. Sir *James Balfour*, one of his Accomplices, was also sent for, and the Convention were of Opinion, that both of them should be used as Enemies to the King, and guilty of Treason. But the Regent's Lenity marred all; he pardoned Sir *James*, and sent *Maitland* to *Edinburgh*, to be kept by *Alexander Hume* of *Northberwick*. *Grange* counterfeiting the Regent's Hand, brought a Warrant to *Alexander* to deliver *Maitland* to him, which he did; and so *Grange* carried him up to the Castle.

AFTER this, the Regent went to the *Merse*, and spoke with the Lord *Hume*, whom he found to be alienated from the King's Side, and inclined to the Duke of *Norfolk's* Faction. From thence he went to *Fedburgh*, where *Morton* and others came to him. He past with them to *Hawick* the 20th of *October*, and from thence he rode through the whole Dales; he riding on the *Scottish* Side, upon the Borders, and a Company of *Englishmen* upon the *English* Side, that they might not fly from one Side to another, nor any of them escape. He lay two Nights at *Cannaber*, one at *Copshaholm*, two on the *Water of Milk*, and so came to *Dumfries*. In this Circuit he con-

constrained the Borderers to put in Pledges and Hostages, to the Number of seventy two, for keeping of the Peace and good Order, whereby he gave great Contentment to the whole Country, and gained great Reputation and Admiration, even of his very Enemies. He returned to *Edinburgh* before the 21st of *November*, the Day appointed for the Trial and Arraignment of Secretary *Maitland*; there finding that he had assembled so many great Men that were for him, *Hamilton*, *Hunly*, *Argyle* and others, he adjourned the Arraignment, and deferred the Judgment. That Faction was now become very powerful; many were fallen off from the Regent; many had joined themselves to the Duke of *Norfolk's* Party, relying mainly on the Duke's Power; and although he were now committed, yet the Faction held good, and the Plot went on. The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, with 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse, came with displayed Banner to *Durham*, and there burnt the Bible and Service-book, heard Mass in *Darnton*, and besieged *Bernard Castle*, which was rendred upon Composition. But being pursued by the Earl of *Warwick*, with an Army of 12000, and *Sussex* with another of 7000 Men, they were forced to flee into *Scotland*, about the 22d of *December*, and put themselves into the Hands of Thieves that lived on the *Scottish* Border, with whom they abode and lurked a while, but not very long: For *Morton* dealt with one *Hector Armstrong*, by Sir *John Carmichael*, and got the Earl of *Northumberland* into his Hands, and delivered him to the Regent; he sent him to be kept in *Lochevin* a Prisoner, being an Enemy no less to him and the King's Side than to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Earl of
Northumber-
land taken,
and sent to
Lochevin.

THIS made her give the better Ear to Ro-
bert

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bert Pitcairn, Ambassador from the Regent, and to desist from requesting any more that Queen Mary might be restored again to her former Place and State. She declared also, that she took what the Regent had done very kindly in pacifying the Borders, apprehending Northumberland and imprisoning of him, pursuing Westmorland and his Faction as Enemies, his offering his best Aid and Assistance to her Captains and Governor of Berwick. She promised to be ever mindful of these his good Offices, and Good-will shewed towards her, and that she should be ready to aid him when he should need; yea, that he might use and command all the Forces in England as his own. Thus by the Overthrow of the English Rebels, by the Favour of the Queen of England, and the Love of his Country People at home, the Regent was more strengthened, and the King's Side became the more powerful. His Adversaries therefore seeing no other Remedy, resolved to cut him off, and make him away by Treachery. James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, one whose Life the Regent had spared before, when he was taken Prisoner in the Field bearing Arms against him, undertook to kill him: Wherefore having watched his Opportunity, when the Regent was at Linlithgow, he placed himself in a House there, by which the Regent was to pass as he rode out of the Town, and shot him with an Harquebus out at a Window; the Bullet whereof, after it had gone through the Regent, killed the Horse of George Douglas of Parkhead, a natural Brother of the Earl of Morton's. This fell out the 21st of January 1569. The Regent finding himself hurt, alighted from his Horse, went to his Lodging, and died ere Midnight. Bothwellhaugh, who had done the Deed, having mounted

The Regent
Murray shot
at Linlith-
gow.

ed upon a Horse which he had standing ready for him of purpose, escaped untaken.

He was much lamented of all, but especially of *Morton*, who had best Reason to be sensible of this Loss, seeing by his Death the common Cause did want a main Pillar and Supporter thereof; and the King's Side, which he followed, was deprived of a sufficient and able Leader. He himself also had lost a dear Friend, with whom he had so long entertained honest and faithful Friendship, and who had born so great a Part of that heavy Burden and Weight of State Affairs with him: For now the whole Burden of guiding the Kingdom, and managing the State lay upon him almost alone, and that even in the Time of the two succeeding Regents, for the Space of about three Years or thereby. They indeed bare the Name and the Authority, but he was the Man by whose Advice and Counsel, by whose Travels and Pains, both of Body and Mind, yea, and upon whose Charges also oftentimes most Things were performed, till at last he himself was chosen Regent, and did then all things alone without a Helper. This was well known to all, and was plainly spoken in the Time of *Lennox's* Regency. A Staff under a Hood, (so they termed *Lennox*) *Morton* rules all. Yet was it not so altogether, neither was *Lennox* so devoid of Judgment, but behaved himself very well, very judiciously, couragiously and courteously, even in *Morton's* Absence, in the taking of *Paisly* and *Dumbarton*, and in his courteous Usage of the Lady *Fleming*, who was within the Castle of *Dumbarton*; only because Matters seemed to rely most upon *Morton's* good Advice, Action and Means; the ruder Interpreters made that hard Construction of it, as if *Morton*, because he did much, had therefore done all, as commonly Men are

wont to judge and speak. And it is very true what is said of *Lennox* in that Epitaph of him, *Famiam virtuti refellit*. Yet it cannot be denied but that even while *Murray* was Regent, *Morton* did very much; and though he were not equal with him in Place and Dignity; for there was but one Regent, yet he was such a Second as might well be esteemed a Yoke-fellow, both in consulting and performing, being a Parraker with him in all Perils and Burdens: So that of all that is set down here of *Murray*, *Morton* was ever an equal Sharer, and may justly challenge the one half as his due: And therefore it is that we have been so particular, and insisted so long on *Murray's* Actions, because of *Morton's* perpetual Concurrence with him in all things, and his Interest in every Business. Wherefore we hope it will not be thought impertinent to our History thus to have handled them, although *Morton* was not the sole Actor, since he was a prime and main one: For whoso will rightly consider shall find that Saying to be true of these two, which *Parmenio* said of *Alexander* and himself *Nihil Alexander absque Parmenione, multa Parmenio absque Alexandro*, being applied to *Morton*: For *Morton* did many things without *Murray*, but *Murray* nothing without *Morton*. And thus it went even when *Murray* was alive, when all acknowledged his Authority.

Now he being dead, many swerved, many made Defection; and, as if they had forgotten what they had promised, became open Enemies. The King's Party was weakened, the adverse Party strengthened both by foreign and home-bred Power. Fear might have terrified him, Ease solicited, Honour and Profit allured him to have left it, and joined with the other Side. But he shrinks not for any Peril,
Hatred

Hatred or Envy, for no Pains or Travel to be sustained, no Case or Security could allure him, no Hope of Favour, of Riches, of Honour could move him to abandon it; which doth evidently justify and clear him of all the Imputations which the Wit of Man can devise or imagine against him. Whether it be that he conspired with *Murray* to make him King: he was now dead, and that Hope with him; Or, if it be any particular End and Aim of his own, what Appearance is there that he could have any private End, which he followed forth with certain Danger, and uncertain Event or Profit? For clearing of which, let us weigh the Parties, and the Forces and Means at home and abroad on both Sides. First there were of the Queen's Side, the Duke of *Chastellherault*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Huntly*, almost all petty Princes in their several Countries and Shires; also the Earls of *Crawford*, *Rothies*, *Egtinton*, *Cassils*, the Lord *Harris*, with all the *Maxwells*, *Lochinvar*, *Johnston*, the Lord *Seton*, *Boyd*, *Gray*, *Ogilvy*, *Levingston*, *Fleming*, *Olliphant*, the Sheriff of *Air* and *Lintithgow*, *Buccleugh*, *Farnihurst* and *Tullibardine*. The Lord *Hume* did also countenance them, though few of his Friends or Name were with him; save one mean Man, *Ferdinando* of *Broomhouse*; *Maitland* the Secretary, a great Politician, and *Grange*, an active Gentleman, who was Captain of the Castle, and Provost of the Town of *Edinburgh*: They had the chief Castles and Places of Strength in their Hands, *Edinburgh*, *Dumbarton*, *Lochmaben*. France did assist them; Spain did favour them, and so did his Holiness of *Rome*, together with all the Roman Catholicks every where: Their Faction in *England* was great, all the Duke of *Norfolk's* Party, Papists and Malcontents had their Eye upon Queen *Mary*. Neither was

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she, though in Prison, altogether unuseful to her Side; For besides her Countenance, and Colour of her Authority, which prevailed with some, she had her Rents in *France*, and her Jewels, wherewith she did both support the common Cause, and reward her private Servants and Followers; especially they served her to furnish Agents and Ambassadors to plead her Cause, and importune her Friends at the Courts of *France* and *England*, who were helped by the banished Lords, *Dacres* and *Westmorland*, to stir up foreign Princes all they could. Thus was that Party now grown great; so that it might seem both safe and most advantageous to follow it. The other was almost abandoned: There were but three Earls that took part with *Morton* at first, *Lennox*, *Mar*, *Glencairn*: Neither were these comparable to any of the foremost four. In *Fife* there was the Lord *Lindsay*, and *Glamis* in *Angus*, no such great Men, and no ways equal to *Crawford* and *Rothes*. The Lord *Semple* was but a simple one in respect of *Cassils*, *Maxwell*, *Lochinvar* and others; *Methven* in *Strathern* a very mean Lord; *Ochiltree* amongst the meanest that bare the Title of a Lord, and yet *Cathcart* was meaner than he, both in Men and Means. Neither was *Ruthven* so great, but that *Tullibardine* and *Oliphant* were able to overmatch him. They had no Castles but *Stirling* and *Tantallon*, which belonged to *Morton*. The Commons indeed were very forwardly set that way: But how uncertain and unsure a Prop is the Vulgar? *England* did befriend them sometimes, but not so fully as they needed, and even so far as did concern their own Safety. So that when all is duly considered, we shall not find any Ground for one to build on, that would seek nothing else but his own private Ends of Honour or Preferment.

ferment. Wherefore it is no Wonder if Secretary *Maitland* and *Grange*, Men that sought themselves only, did join with that Party which was likeliest to thrive and prosper, in all Appearance of Reason and human Wisdom. Neither can any Man think that *Morton* did aim at his own Greatness, or that it was out of any Self-respect that he followed the other Party with such Disadvantage, if we will acknowledge that he was a wise and judicious Man. And therefore, if we search with an impartial Eye, what could have been the Motives that made him cleave so stedfastly to this Cause, we shall find them to have been no particular of his own, nor any thing else besides the Equity and Justness thereof, as he conceived, his Love to the young King, as his King and Kinsman, together with the Preservation of Religion, and the Welfare of his Country, which he thought did stand and fall with this Quarrel and Cause. This in all Likelihood hath been his Mind, which, whether it was right or wrong, let them dispute who list; our Purpose is only to shew so far as may be gathered by rational Conjecture, what it was that did induce him to follow this Course.

Now although he had bent all his Power and Endeavours this Way, yet there lacked not some that did blame him, as not zealous enough to revenge *Murray's* Death. His Brothers uterine, *Lochlevin* and *Buchan*, craved Justice against the Murderers; so much the rather, for that he was not slain for any private Quarrel or Enmity, but for the publick Defence of the King and Country. When it came to a Consultation, some were of Opinion, that those who were suspected, should be summoned to appear against a certain Day, according to Custom and Order of Law. Others again thought that such Process and legal

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gal Proceeding needed not to be observed towards them, who had already taken Arms to maintain by Force what they had committed by Treachery and Treason, but that an Army should be levied against them, and not only against them, but also against all such as had been declared Rebels by the former Parliament. But *Morton* did not like of this last Course, nor *Athole*; because neither was that Meeting frequent enough to determine of those things; and besides, they foresaw, that the joining of many Faults would take away or diminish, and make Men forget the Principal; and to mingle other Crimes with the Murder, were but to make all the guilty, in whatever kind, to join with the Murderers, and so raise a general and open Insurrection, and a most dangerous Civil War; wherefore they deferred all till the first of May, the Day appointed for a Convention, as also for choosing of a new Regent. These Delays were motioned by Secretary *Maitland*, who, at *Grange's* Request, upon his Oath that he was innocent of the King's and Regent's Murder, and of the Rebellion raised in *England*; and having found Sureties to appear, and answer whensoever he should be legally pursued, was released by the Nobility here conveyened. For with whatever View *Maitland* made this Motion, *Athole* consented to it, and *Morton* also, because he saw there could be no orderly Proceeding at this Time. This was ill taken of the Vulgar, who did interpret this Delay, of which they knew *Maitland* to be the Author, to be nothing else but a Plot of his to gain Time to strengthen his own Faction, and that *Murray's* Death might be forgotten, or at least the Heat of revenging it might cool and relent, which they thought should not have been granted and given way.

to. This was done the 14th of February, the Day after the Regent's Funeral.

THE 15th of February, *Argyle* and *Boyd* wrote to *Morton* from *Glasgow*, where the principal of the Queen's Side were convey'd; that they were willing to join with the rest of the Nobility against such as were guilty of the Regent's Death; but because it was not yet perfectly known who they were, they desired that they might meet, and confer about it, so that they of the King's Side would come to *Linlithgow*, or *Falkirk*, or *Stirling*, for they would not come to *Edinburgh*. *Morton* did impart the Business; and communicate these Letters to *Maitland*, as they had wish'd him to do; but he refusing to meet any where else, save in *Edinburgh*, there was no Meeting at this Time. But afterwards, the 24th of February, they came to *Morton* at *Dalkeith*, and laboured to perswade him to come over to their Side; but he was so far from listening to them, that he did assure them, he would stand to the Maintenance of the King's Authority, to the utmost of his Power. It may be, some will think that this Constancy did proceed from Distrust, according to that *Pseudo-Politic* and *Mathiavelian* Maxim, *qui offensa, non pardona*, who once offends, never forgives: And that he thought his Fault so great in opposing the Queen, that it could not be pardoned. But why should he have thought so? His was no greater than were some of theirs, who were pardoned, than the Lord *Hume's* by Name. And certainly by all Appearance, he could have made a far better Mends; he might have put an End to the Controversy, and restored the Queen again to her own Place, which might have sufficiently expiated all his former Transgressions. Wherefore we may

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justly call it Constancy, which was accompanied with Courage in undertaking so hard and difficult a Task, and with Wisdom in achieving, and bringing of it through. In the Beginning of *March* he went to *Edinburgh*, whether the Principals of the other Party came also, *Huntly*, *Crawford*, *Ogilvy*, and the Lord *Hume*, *Seton* and *Maitland*. There were but few with *Morton*, till *Mar* and *Glencairn* came in to him. The next Day after they met to consult of Business, but because *Argyle* was absent, whose Power was great, they could conclude nothing. Wherefore *Huntly* goes to him, with Intention to bring him along with him, but he came back without him, which every Body thought was done by *Maitland's* Cunning, who hindred all Agreement, that he might the better fish in troubled Waters. The Night following, these Lords who were on the Queen's Side, took such a sudden Apprehension, and pannick Fear, without any apparent Cause, that having watched all Night in their Arms, they departed next Morning, without Order, and very dismayedly.

ABOUT the End of *April* 1570, the Earl of *Mar* set forth from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh* against the first of *May*, which was the Day appointed for a Convention of the States; but the Lords of the contrary Party lay in his Way at *Linlithgow*; wherefore *Morton* goes forth to meet him with 500 Horse and 1000 Foot; so that *Mar* having crossed the Water of *Aven* a good Way above *Linlithgow*, they joined their Troops, and came both safe to *Edinburgh* the 29th of *April*, about twelve o' Clock at Night. Thus were the two Parties, the one at *Linlithgow*, and the other at *Edinburgh*, each accusing other, and blaming others as Authors of Dissention; yet they at *Edinburgh* of-

Convention
at *Edinburgh*
May 1.

offered to yield unto any thing, and to come to any Terms of Agreement, which might not be prejudicial to the King's Authority; and, upon condition that they would assure them of their Concurrence to avenge the late King's and *Murray's* Slaughter. But they were so far from accepting of these Conditions, that on the contrary, they chose three Lieutenants for the Queen, *Arran*, *Argyle* and *Huntly*; they appointed also a Parliament to be held in her Name the 3d or 4th of *August* at *Linlithgow*. In the mean Time, *Sir William Drury*, with 300 Horse and 1000 Foot, came into Scotland to pursue the Queen's Rebels, and such as received them, as was given out; but the Lords at *Linlithgow*, fearing they might be brought against them, as soon as they heard of their coming, went towards *Glasgow*, and besieged the Castle thereof, which *Minto* had in keeping: But he being absent, and not above twenty four of the Garrison Soldiers within, the Castle notwithstanding was so well defended, that having slain more of the Besiegers than they were themselves in Number, after six Days stay, hearing of the approaching of the contrary Party, they raised their Siege, and went every Man unto his own Home. The King's Side with *Drury* and the English went into *Cliddisdale*, and cast down *Hamilton*, and other Houses belonging to the Queen's Faction. After this the English returned to *Berwick*, and *Morton* did go along with them the 3d of *June*, having staid about 20 or 22 Days from the 2d of *May*.

THE 13th of *July* 1570, they chose *Lennox* to be Regent, in a Convention holden at *Stirling*, and gave him the Oath to observe the Laws, and to maintain the professed Religion. His first Care was to stay the Parliament, which the contrary Party had appointed to be kept at

July 13th
1570. *Lennox* Regent.

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at Linlithgow in August; wherefore he sends to Grange for some Pieces of Ordnance out of the Castle of Edinburgh; but he refused to send any, pretending that he would be a Procurer of Peace, and not an Instrument of War and shedding of Scottish Blood. Notwithstanding hereof, the Regent goes to Linlithgow with 5000 Men the 3d of August, where he could see no Appearance of a Parliament, nor of any Meeting, nor hear no News of them at all, save that Huntly had been at Brechin, and placed a Garrison there of some hired Soldiers, and that he had also commanded them to provide Victuals and Lodging for some thousands of Men against the 10th of August. Hereupon the Earl of Morton made haste to go to Brechin, to surprise them before they were aware, and sent Word to the Lord Ruthven and Lindsay to go with him, or before him, because they lay nearer: But the Soldiers having got some inkling of their coming, fled, and retired, some to the Steeple, some to the Castle, where they thought themselves to be in Safety. Morton therefore lay about those Places, and not long after, the Regent came thither himself in Person, and the Gentlemen of the Country about came all to him; so that his Army did now amount to the Number of 7000 Men. Those that were in the Steeple yielded presently; but they that were in the Castle stood upon the defensive at first, and wounded some that approached to have assaulted the Castle; but hearing that the Battery was to be planted, and that Huntly, who they looked should have come to their Relief, according to his Promise, had abandoned them, offered to yield, their Lives only safe; but when they could not obtain that, they came in the Regent's Will simply, without Condition. Thirty of them were hanged, who had been taken divers times before,

Morton goes
to Brechin.
The Regent
also goes
thither.

The Garri-
son yields.

fore, and been pardoned, upon their Promise never to bear Arms against the King; the rest, with their Captains, were let go free. This being done, they returned to *Stirling* the 15th of *August*.

THE Winter following was quiet, and free Morton sent from Trouble; in the Beginning of *February* into England Morton was sent into England to Queen Elizabeth, at her Desire, with whom went *Pitcairn* Abbot of *Dunfermline* and Mr. *James Mackgill* Clerk Register: Being come to the Court the 18th of *February*, he was remitted to seven of the Council, who were appointed to treat with him. These propounded two Heads to be spoken of; one was, That the Queen might be better informed of their Proceedings, and the Equity of their Cause, than as yet she was, and that their Reasons and Proofs might be so clear, and such, that both she herself might be fully perswaded thereof, and that she might be able to satisfy others, who should require her Help against them. The other Point was, to make some Overture of Peace, and to find out some Way of Reconcilement, that so the Kingdom of Scotland might be quieted and settled. For the first Point they gave in their Reasons in Writing, the last of *February*, which when the Queen had read, she answered by her seven Counsellors, That she was not satisfied therewith fully, and therefore desired them to come to the second Point, what Course was to be taken for Pacification. She propounded the first Head only for a Shew; she knew well enough before what they could say, and was sufficiently satisfied; but would not be so, at least she would not seem to be so. As for the second Head, they answered, That their Commission was limited, and that they could not consult of any such Thing as tended to the Diminution of

of their King's Authority; neither would they take it upon them, though they might, nor use any such Power, although it had been given them. The Queen was at *Greenwich*, whether she sent for them, and in a manner chid them for their Obstinacy, that they would not listen to a Treaty of Peace, but did rather avoid that which did concern their Good so much, and made large Protestation of her Good-will towards them and their King, willing them, at least, if they would do no more, to hear what her Counsellors would say unto them. On the Morrow her Counsellors propounded many things for deciding the Title of the Crown betwixt the Mother and the Son; *Morton* craved the Propositions in Writing, in regard there were many Articles, and of great Importance. Which being given him, after he, and the others that were with him, had considered of them, they found them to be such as did diminish the King's Authority, and were without the Bounds of their Commission; wherefore they returned Answer, That these were Things of so high a Nature, that they belonged only to the three Estates, and could not be meddled with by so few as they were. This Answer the Counsellors craved also to have in Writing, which was done accordingly the Day following. The 10th of *March* they had Presence of the Queen, and were again importuned to come to some Proffers of Agreement, but they absolutely refused. Again, the 20th of *March* they were brought before the Queen, who confessed that these Matters belonged to a Parliament, which, says she, seeing it is to be shortly, go home to it with God's Blessing, and take such Order, as that there may be Men chosen of both Sides, to consult how to put an End to these Controversies. And for the furthering thereof. I will send my Ambassadors

dors thither, and will now presently deal with the Ambassadors of the Scottish Queen, and move them to go thither also, if it be possible. And so she did, but they could give her no present Answer, until such time as they had acquainted their Queen therewith, and received some Direction from her thereabout. So they were forced to stay till Letters were sent and brought again from her: Which being come, the 4th of April they got Presence again; and the Queen told them, how Queen Mary had rated her Ambassadors, for their Boldness, in daring to go so far as to enter into any Terms of Agreement. Wherefore, says she, seeing she is so averse from this Way, I will stay you no longer; but if afterwards she shall repent her, and be contented to hear of it, she said, she hoped they would be ready to follow the Way of Peace. And so they were dismissed very lovingly the 8th of April, and came to Stirling the 1st of May; where having given an Account of their Embassy in the Convention assembled there, their Proceedings were allowed and approved by all.

He returns
and comes
to Stirling
the 1st of
May 1571.

DURING Morton's Absence in England, Lennox the Regent had taken Paisley and the Castle of Dumbarton; but on the contrary, the other Faction (by Grange's Means and their own Forces) had made themselves Masters of the Town of Edinburgh, with Intention to keep out the Lords, and to hinder them from meeting in Parliament. Wherefore Morton being come to Dalkeith, kept 100 Musketeers about him, together with a Company of Horsemen, both to be a Guard to himself, if they should happen to attempt any thing against him, as also to hinder their Excursions, and to keep them from pillaging the Country about. This Company of Foot, with 70 Horse, he sent to Leith, to assist the Herald in making a Proclamation

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mation in the King's Name, to discharge all Men to relieve or support the City of *Edinburgh* with Victuals or Ammunition, or any other necessary Provision. As they returned out of *Leith*, (out of a Bravery, or because it was the nearest Way) the Footmen would needs go hard by the City-gates, and the Horsemen, though they liked it not, would not forsake them: They in the Town not knowing what might be their Meaning, armed themselves, and seeing so small a Number, issued out at the two Gates, called the *Neiber-bow* and the *Cowgate-port*, and skirmished with them. *Morton's* Men, though they were fewer in Number, had the better of them, and beat them back again within the Gates. This Fight was called the *Loufe-law* or *Hill*, because it was fought near to a little Hill or Law where Beggars used to sun and louse themselves. It was the first yoking or bickering they had, and the beginning of the War between *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, so called, because the Lords that were on the King's side lay at *Leith*, and the contrary Party at *Edinburgh*. And howsoever it was of small Moment, yet it is not unworthy the observing, that this little Essay was, in a manner, a Presage and Prognostick of the Issue of the ensuing Conflicts, that they should be of answerable Success. And so indeed it fell out, that the King's side, though fewer in Number, as at this Time, had ever the better, during the whole Time of these Wars.

Parliament
the 14th of
May 1571
without the
Gates of
Edinburgh.

THE Day appointed for holding of the Parliament being come, the Regent comes to *Leith* and *Morton* with him; but not being strong enough to force the Town of *Edinburgh*, they went hard to the Gate, and having caused cast up a Trench to keep the Enemy from sallying out, they held the Parliament, though without the Gates, yet within the Liberties of the City, which,

which, Lawyers said, was as good as if it had been within the Walls. In this Parliament Secretary *Maitland*, with his two Brothers *John* and *Thomas*, and the Abbot of *Kilwinning*, were declared Rebels, their Lands were forfeited, and their Goods confiscated. They sat five Days, during which the Ordnance from the Castle did play upon them continually, and the Bullets did often fall amongst them, yet not any Man was slain or hurt, as if by special Providence they had been protected. Afterwards they adjourned it, and transferred it to *Stirling* against the 4th of *August*. They in *Edinburgh* also kept their Parliament, where they had the Crown, Sword and Sceptre, which they had gotten from *Grange* out of the Castle, and declared some of the King's side Rebels, and in the end adjourned it likewise till a new Day.

THE Regent returned to *Stirling*, and *Morton* went with him to bring him on his Way as far as *Corstorphin*. As he returned to *Dalkeith*, they of the City issued out as if they would have fought him, and the Castle at the same time did shoot at him; but he being without their Reach, and the Enemy not daring to go farther from the Town than the Cannons could shoot, he went home without fighting. His House being near to *Edinburgh*, he kept all those that lay about him, or offered to come that Way, from bringing any Victuals thither. Wherefore they issued out of the City to the Number of 220 Foot and 100 Horse, with Intention to surprize him, and either to burn his Town of *Dalkeith*, or at least to brave him at his own Gate, supposing that he durst not come out to fight them, now that his Friends were all gone home to their own Houses, and not above 200, or few more, of waged Soldiers left with him. So they march,

and

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A Fight at
Craigmillar
 the 2d of
June 1571.

and carry with them two Field-pieces, and were come to *Lugton*, within half a Mile of him, before they were espied. But as soon as the Alarm was given in *Dalkeith*, *Morton's* Men, about 200 Foot and 60 Horse, came forth, and having put themselves in Order in the open Fields, offered them Battle. After some little Skirmishing, they of *Edinburgh* seeing themselves disappointed of their Expectation, who thought to have found very small or no Resistance, began to retire towards the City in good Order, and keeping their Ranks unbroken: The *Dalkeithians* did follow them in the same manner, till they came to the Castle of *Craigmillar*; then some of *Morton's* Foot getting before them, by running about on the other Side of the Castle, and rising as it were out of an Ambushment, fell upon them in a narrow Lane which leadeth from the Castle, and having broken their Ranks, made them fly. When they perceived from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, that the Flight was towards the City, and that their Men had the worse, they sent out 30 Harquebussers to their Aid, and a Barrel of Powder on Horseback. By this new Supply, they drove back *Morton's* Horsemen as fast as they had followed them before; but while they are in filling of their Measures out of the Barrel, the Powder being fired by some of their Matches, killed and hurt some 24 or 30, amongst whom was Captain *Melvil*, that did keep the Barrel and distribute the Powder. By this Mean, the Loss on both Sides was almost equal, save that there were more killed of the Citizens, and more of *Morton's* made Prisoners; having followed too eagerly at a strait Place called the *Queen's Bridges*. This fell out the 2d of *June*. No r long after this; *Morton* was advertised that they of *Edinburgh* were gone to *Leith*, to intercept Captain *Wemyss* and 100 Soldiers who had

had served in *Denmark*, and now being come home, were waged by the King's side. They had gone to *Fife*, and having refreshed themselves there a little while, were now coming over to *Leith*, to enter into the King's Service, and some 24 of them being in a little Ferry-boat, were taken by the Enemy and carried to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the rest being in a pretty good large Bark, arrived safe at *Leith*. *Morton* came thither too late, for the Men of *Edinburgh* were all gone ere he came, save about 10 or 12, whom he took and kept for the Soldiers that were carried away. *Morton* lay long at *Leith*, during which Time there fell out a notable Conflict, and the most memorable that happened all the Time of that War. The Queen of *England* laboured to mediate a Peace between the Parties, and for that purpose had commanded Sir *William Drury*, Marshal of *Berwick*, to deal with them, and try what Conditions of Agreement he could bring them to. *Drury* went to *Stirling* to the Regent; he did also speak with *Morton*, and was now come to *Edinburgh* to take his Leave of them there, seeing he could do no Good, nor prevail with either Side. *Morton* in the mean time being wearied with watching, and excessive Pains and Travel, tormented also with a vehement Fit of the Colick, kept his Bed; which they at *Edinburgh* having Notice of, either to take Advantage of his Sicknefs, or to brave them of *Leith* in the Presence and Sight of *Drury*, to make him believe that they were the stronger and hardier, they issue forth of the Town, and march towards *Leith*, having ordered and ranked their Men as ready to give Battle. This was the 10th of *June*, in time of their Parliament, where the chief of their Faction was present, and did make *Huntly* Lieutenant for Queen *Mary*: He with the Abbot of

Morton at
Leith.

Conflict
with the
Lords of the
Queen's Fa-
ction.

Kil-

Kilwinning, and Mr. *John Mairland* Prior of *Coldingham*, had the leading of the Foot; *Bucleugh* and *Farnihurst* were Captains of the

Battle at Horfe. These came as far as the Hill where
 Gallow-law. the Gibbet useth to stand, called commonly the *Gallow-law*, not far from *Leirh*: *Morton* understanding hereof by the Watch, esteeming it a great Indignity and Affront, that they should offer to come so near to the Place where he was, forgetting his own Sicknes and Infirmitie, rose out of his Bed, and caused sound the Trumpets and beat the Drums, and marching out of the Town, set his Men in Order within half a Mile and less of the Enemy. Sir *William Drury* rode betwixt the Armies, and made them promise not to fight that Day; but then there arose a Question which of them should retire first: *Morton* alledged, that those of *Edinburgh* ought to do it, because they came out first, and were in a manner the Provokers; but *Drury*, to decide the Controversy, desired, That when he, standing in the Mid-way betwixt them, should give a Sign, they should both retire together at the same instant. *Morton* was content, but the other Party refused flatly; threatening withal, that unless he retired first, they would make him do it with Shame, and would scarcely forbear till *Drury* withdrew himself; who when he could not prevail with them, went aside and looked on, saying, *GOD shew the right*. *Morton*, who had yielded before, not out of Fear, but only to satisfy the *English*, thinking that he had done enough to show his Moderation unto them, began to march towards the Enemy. There were with him three Companies of Foot, which were Mercenaries, under the leading of Captain *Thomas Crawford*, *David Hume* of *Filbick*, and Captain *Wemyss* who was come out of *Denmark*, all expert and valiant Captains. Besides these

these there were some Volunteers of the Townsmen of *Leith*, and of *Edinburgh* also, who had left the City to follow the King's side. The Horsemen, about 130, were conducted by *William Douglas* of *Drumlanrig*, *James Hume* of *Coldingknows*, and one *Jarden* of *Applegirth*. *Morton* had about himself a Company of Pikemen, and such as carried Spears and long Weapons. The forenamed Captains began the Fight, and made the Enemies Foot quickly to give Ground, and drave them back. The Horsemen in like manner beat the Rebels Horsemen, and routed them; which *Hunsly* perceiving, fled also as they did. There was no Head or Resistance at all made against them, save only by a few of the Footmen in the *Abbey Churchyard*, who made Shew as if they would have defended that Place of Advantage; but they were quickly forced to leave it, and fly with the rest. For some of them being slain, some trampled under Foot, and divers crushed to Death in the Throng and Crowd, the rest ran away so disorderly and fearfully, that they forgot to shut the City-gates, and fled straight to the Castle. And so great was their Fear and Confusion, that if the Followers had not been too much bent, and eagerly set upon the Pillage and Spoil, they might easily have entred and taken the City. There were slain in this Fight about 50, of whom *Gawin Hamilton* Abbot of *Kilwinning* was one: There were 130 taken Prisoners, the chief of which was the Lord *Hume*, being a little hurt by the falling of his Horse; *James Cullen*, Captain of a Foot Company, and a Kinsman of the Earl of *Huntly's*, had hid himself in a poor Woman's Ambury, and being found, was drawn out from thence by the Heels, and brought to *Leith*: There, so soon as the People saw him, they made a great Noise and Clamour, desiring that he

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he might not be spared, but punished according to his Deserts; for in the time of the Civil War at home he had behaved himself both covetously and cruelly, more like a Thief and Robber than a Captain or generous Soldier. And abroad in *France* he was very infamous, for many vile and base Pranks he had played there. And in the War betwixt *Sweden* and *Denmark*, he had taken Money of both Kings to levy Men, and promised to aid both, but performed to neither. For these Things, besides many more foul and horrible Crimes which he had committed; he was publickly executed, to the great Contentment of all the Commons. Sir *William Drury*, when he saw how Things went contrary to his Desire, as is supposed, being, as was thought, of *Norfolk's* Party, went away to *Berwick*.

Parliament
in *Stirling*
the 4th of
August.

Contention
about Bi-
shops.

AFTER this the Regent came to *Leith*, and caused fortify it, and make it as strong as he could, to hinder any Victuals to be carried from thence to *Edinburgh*; and having appointed the Lord *Lindsay* to remain there as Governor, he returned to *Stirling*, and *Morton* went with him to hold the Parliament, which was appointed to be there in *August*. There was at this Time no small Contett and Debate betwixt the Court and the Church, about Bishops and Prelates, concerning their Office and Jurisdiction. The Ministers laboured to have them quite abolished and taken away; and the Court thought that Form of Government to be more agreeable and compatible with a Monarchical Estate, and more conform to the Rules of Policy and Civil Government of a Kingdom: Besides, the Courtiers had tasted the Sweetness of their Rents and Revenues, putting in titular Bishops, who were only their Receivers, and had a certain Pension or Stipend, for discharging and executing the Ecclesiastical Part
of

of their Office; but the main Profit was taken up by the Courtiers, for their own Use. Wherefore they laboured to retain at least these Shadows of Bishops, for letting of Leases, and such other Things, which they thought were not good in Law otherwise. There was none more forward to keep them up than the Earl of *Morton*; for he had gone Ambassador to *England* on his own private Charges, and to recompense his great Expences in that Journey, the Bishoprick of *St. Andrews* being then vacant, was conferred upon him. He put in Mr. *John Douglas*, who was Provost of the New College in *St. Andrews*, to bear the Name of Bishop, and to gather the Rents, till such time as the Solemnity of Inauguration could be obtained, for which he was countable to him. This he did immediately after he came home out of *England*. Now he will have him to sit in Parliament, and to vote there as Archbishop. The Superintendent of *Fife* did inhibit him to sit there, or to vote, under pain of Excommunication; *Morton* commanded him to do it, under pain of Treason and Rebellion. The Petition given in to the Parliament, desiring a competent Provision for the Maintenance of Preachers, in which they complained of the Wrong done unto them by the Courtiers who intercepted their Means, was cast over the Bar and rejected; and by the most common Report, *Morton* was the Cause thereof. Afterwards *Morton*, in a Meeting of some Delegates and Commissioners of the Church at *Leith*, by the Superintendent *Dun*'s Means, used the Matter so, that he obtained their Consent to have his Bishop admitted and installed: Wherefore, the 3d of *February*, he caused affix a Schedule on the Church-door of *St. Andrews*, wherein he charged the Ministers to convene and admit him to the Place, which they did accordingly,

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but not without great Opposition. For Mr. *Patrick Adamson*, then a Preacher, but afterwards Archbishop there himself, in a Sermon which he preached against the Order and Office of Bishops, said there were three sorts of Bishops: 1. The LORD's Bishop, to wit, Christ's, and such was every Pastor. 2. My Lord Bishop, that is, such a Bishop as is a Lord, who sits and votes in Parliament, and exercises Jurisdiction over his Brethren, 3. And the third sort was my Lord's Bishop, that is, one whom some Lord or Nobleman at Court did put into the Place, to be his Receiver, to gather the Rents, and let Leases, for his Lordship's Behoof, but had neither the Means nor Power of a Bishop: This last sort he called a *Tulchan Bishop*, because as the *Tulchan*, which is a Calf's Skin stuffed with Straw, is set up to make the Cow give down her Milk; so are such Bishops set up, that their Lords by them may milk the Bishopricks. Likewise Mr. *Knox* preached against it the 10th of *February*, and in both their Hearings (*Morton's* and his Archbishop) to their Faces pronounced *Anathema danti*, *Anathema accipienti*, a Curse on the Giver, and a Curse on the Taker. This much I thought fit to mention here, and to cast these Things together which are of one Nature, though done at several Times, yet which began at this Parliament in *Stirling*.

An Attempt
upon *Stirling*,
and the
Lords there.

WHILE the Lords assembled at *Stirling*, lay there securely and negligently, without fear of the Enemy that lay so far off, as they thought, at *Edinburgh*, they had well nigh been cut off all of them, and the whole Cause overthrown. For there was in *Edinburgh* one *George Bell*, an Ensign-bearer to a Company there, and a *Stirlingman* born, who knew all the Town, every Lane and Street, and every Turning and Corner in it; he had learned also in what particular

ticular Houses every Nobleman was lodged : This Bell knowing by Intelligence how careless the Lords were, how few they had with them, and that there was either no Watch kept at all, or else but very negligently, and the Centinels very thin placed, thought it possible to surprize them with a very few Men ; wherefore having imparted it, and acquainted the chief Commanders withal, they liked and approved of it. So with all Speed they prepare for the Journey, and march from *Edinburgh* with 200 Horse and 300 Foot; the Earl of *Huntly*, *Claud Hamilton* of *Paisley*, and *Walter Scott* of *Buccleugh*, being their Captains and Leaders. They used such Expedition, and were so fortunate, that having got thither undescried, they planted themselves in the Market-place, and setting Men to guard all the Lanes and narrow Passages of the Town, they entred the Noblemens Lodgings and took them Prisoners; the Regent, *Glencairn*, and others. Only *Morton's* House made some Resistance; which being so well defended, that seeing they could not enter otherwise, they set it on Fire, and he seeing all filled with Fire and Smoke, one or two of his Servants also being slain, yielded himself to *Buccleugh*, who had married his Niece *Margaret Douglas*. And thus having made all sure, as they supposed, the Soldiers began to roam up and down the Town, and rife the Houses, seeking for Spoil and Booty. In the mean time the Earl of *Mar* and his Folks, who were in the Castle, and had essayed divers times to break into the Market-place, but in vain, all the Passages and Entries being so well guarded that they could by no means do it; at last he sent sixteen of his Men with small Brass Pieces of Founds, as they call them, to his own new House, which was then a-building; and because no body dwelt in it,

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Lennox the
Regent kil-
led.

for it was not yet finished, the Enemy had not regarded it: These entring in at a Back-gate, got up to the Top of the House, and to the Windows which did look directly into that Street where the Enemy was, and began to shoot among the thickest of them. Hereupon they presently fled so fast, that they trode one upon another thronging out at the Gate. *Mar's* Folks came presently down and pursued them, but the Lodging-gate being shut, they could not get out at the little narrow Wicket but one at once, and that very slowly, whereby the Enemy had Time to fly safely. And now many that before kept within Doors for Fear, began to creep out of their Corners, and come forth to the Street and join themselves with the Earl of *Mar's* Men: So that the Case was quite altered; for the Victors and Conquerors, leaving their Prisoners and their Spoil, fled for Life to save themselves, and divers became Prisoners unto their Prisoners, namely those who had taken *Morton* and *Glencairn*. The Regent was taken by *David Spence of Wormiston*, who was himself killed while he laboured to save the Regent's Life, and the Regent also received his Death's Wound. They might have utterly destroyed the Enemy, but that at their first Entry the *Tiviotdale* Men had taken away all their Horses, so that they could not pursue them. And so they escaped, we may say, on both Sides; for both were victorious, and both were vanquished in a few Hours space. A rare and remarkable Example, how available, and of what Moment it is to use Diligence and Expedition, and how dangerous in time of War to be negligent and secure. But especially this Accident doth make good that often repeated Observation of that great Warrior *Julius Caesar*, *Multum in utramque partem fortuna potest*: That in all the Exploits of War, Fortune hath great

great Power either to frustrate or make successful. But what he calls *Fortune*, we know to be *Providence*, and ought so to call and acknowledge it, which turns the Wheel of human Affairs beyond and contrary to their Expectation. If we may judge of the Justice of the Cause by the perpetual Success of the Maintainers, and by their Meekness and Moderation therein, the King's side have had the better and the juster. The Regent died that same Night, and was buried in the Chappel of *Stirling*-Castle with such Solemnity as the Town and Time could afford.

Buried.

THE Grandfather being dead, the next Regent was *Mar*, being chosen the 8th or 9th of *September*, the same Year 1571. There were three put on the List, *Argyle*, *Mar* and *Morton*. It is strange they should have made *Argyle* one, who had been all this while on the contrary Faction, and was now but a reconciled Enemy at most, unless they were sure how to carry it. Many thought *Morton* should have been the Man, but he nothing ambitious of the Title, which was but matter of Envy, helped to cause *Mar* be chosen, who was a very sufficient and trusty Nobleman, able to discharge the Place, and who had the King's Person in keeping within the Castle of *Stirling*. The main Thing that he did in his Regency was, that he conveened the Country, and lay about the Town, but wanting Artillery to batter it, he returned again to *Leith*; where dividing the Kingdom into Quarters, he appointed the several Divisions to come to him by Turns, with whom having broken the Mills about *Edinburgh*, he placed Soldiers in the Villages and Gentlemens Houses about it, to hinder all kind of Provision from it. In the South Parts of the Kingdom, *Buccleugh* and *Farnihurst* did molest the King's side, especially the Town of

Mar Regent.

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Jedburgh: Wherefore *Morton*, both for this Cause, as also for a Particular against *Farnihurst*, who claimed to be Bailiff of *Jedburgh-Forrest* (which belonged to the Earl of *Angus*) by Inheritance, sent for the chief Gentlemen of the *Merse*, and desired them to subscribe a Bond; by which all those that were by Name insert therein, did bind themselves to assist one another, and all of them to aid and assist the Warden *Sir James of Coldinknows*. In this Bond were contained the Townsmen of *Jedburgh*, the Laird of *Badrule*, together with the *Turnbulls* and *Rutherfords*, and divers others.

THE first that was called (they being all assembled together in *Morton's* Lodging at *Leith*) was *Sir David Hume of Wedderburn*, who flatly refused to subscribe it; but said, He was ready to serve the King, as became a faithful Subject, so far as he was able; but that he would not bind himself in any Bond to any Man, further than he was already bound in Duty; especially such Men, with whom he would not enter into any Society, Fellowship, or Combination: He understood chiefly the *Turnbulls* and *Rutherfords*, whose Names were infamous, and most of them reputed Thieves, and *Badrule* a notorious one. *Morton* seeing him thus resolute, lest the rest might by his Example refuse likewise, caused him go aside into a Back-room, and called in the rest.

THE first of which was *Patrick Hume of Palwarth*, who hearing of the *Turnbulls* and *Rutherfords*, refused also to be joined with them, or to subscribe. When *Morton* asked him his Reason, he answered roundly, *Because*, says he, *it may be some of these Men have helped to steal Wedderburn's Cattle. And hath Wedderburn any Cattle stolen from him?* says *Morton*. *Yes*, my Lord, answered the other, *that he hath. He did not tell me so much*, says *Morton*.

Morton. But it is true, my Lord, saith Polwarth. Well, says Morton, will ye subscribe this Bond? I cannot, my Lord, saith he, as the Case stands. If you do not, saith he, you shall do worse. Worse, my Lord, saith the other, nay, rather than do worse, I will do it. No, but, saith Morton, I do not mean to compel you. No, but, my Lord, saith he, you have said enough; and so he signed it, accounting it Threatning and Compulsion, and so himself no whit bound by his subscribing. The rest of the Gentlemen being called, seeing Polwarth's Hand at it, made no more Scruple, but set to theirs likewise.

AFTER this Morton went to Dinner, and being set, he remembred himself, and sent one to call Wedderburn out of the Back-room, and when he came, he asked him, why he did not come to Dinner? I was, saith he, lawfully committed, my Lord, and I would not break Prison, but staid till I was lawfully released. These Dealings made some that were rigid Censurers think hardly of Morton, that he would use such infamous Men, and tolerate them for his own Ends, especially being a publick Person, and in the Place of Justice: Yet others did excuse him, as being necessitated thereunto by the Times, there being no other way to counterpoise the Power of Farniburst and Buccleugh but by these Turnbulls and Rutherfords; alledging withal, that it is not fit, or possible, to observe those School Rules precisely in politick Affairs: Which, it seems, hath been his Opinion also.

IN February, Morton being absent in St. Andrews about the installing of his Archbishop, Those of Edinburgh set
Mr. John Douglas, those in Edinburgh watching and laying hold on this Opportunity, went forth, and setting Fire in the Town of Dalkeith, burnt some twenty Houses thereof, and having
K 4 spoil.

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spoiled and pillaged it; returned safe to *Edinburgh*. There was little other Thing of Moment done by either side during *Mar's* Time. And now by the Garrisons which lay about *Edinburgh*, hindring Victuals to be brought them, their Scarcity increased so much, that they sent to procure an Ambassador from *France*, and another from *Queen Elizabeth*, to mediate a Peace. And for the Preamble of a full Peace, the Ambassadors obtained a Truce in *July*, to begin the 1st of *August* 1572, and to last till *December* or *January*. The Conditions were simple, That the Town of *Edinburgh* should be patent to all the King's Subjects; which was as much as to say, that they should render it up, since they could keep it no longer. And so it was done the 1st of *August* 1572. Before the expiring of this Truce the Regent sickened, and died at *Stirling* about the 28th of *October* 1572.

A Truce.

Mar the Regent dieth.

THUS have we waded through those Times and Actions of the Earl *Morton's*, which were intermingled with those of other Mens; in which, though he were not the sole Agent, nor the principal and first in Place, yet had he a main hand in all of them: And in all the Affairs of State he was ever a chief Actor; during the Reign of the Queen-Mother and *Queen Mary* her Daughter, in the Time of the three Regents, *Murray*, *Lennox* and *Mar*, to all whom he was ever even more than a second. Now we are come to that Time and those Actions which are absolutely and fully his own, where he is the Deviser and Executor, sole Counsellor and sole Commander of all, where there is none to go before him, none to share or partake with him in his Praise, or Blame. What he doth aright, the Honour thereof is due to himself alone; and if he do any thing amiss, the Blame thereof must ly upon him only. The Pain or Pleasure, the Gain or Loss, touch

touch and concern him, and none else. For Mar being dead, we do not find so much as any Question made, who should succeed him in the Government; Mens Minds had by Presage designed him to it, and the Lords meet to accomplish that Presage, rather than to consult of it. Wherefore, the 24th of November, he was by uniform Consent of all those of the King's side, chosen to be Regent. Would you know the Reason of their Choice? Be pleased then to hear it in the Words of a Stranger, who is very impartial, and far from lavish Commendation, viz. Mr. Thain (or Boteville) in his *Scottish Chronicle*: They sought (saith he) a new Regent, to succeed in Mar's Place, that might in all Respects defend the King's Person, and the Realm, as he had done before. Wherefore the Noblemen assembling, did select, by one Consent, the Earl of Morton to that Office; a Man no less wise than provident, and such a Person, as both for the Nobility of his Birth, and Service to the Realm and to the King, did well merit the same. By which it appears, that he did neither ambitiously seek the Place, nor got it by Faction, but was chosen to it for the Good of the Country, freely and advisedly. He says indeed, that it was after long Consultation; but it could not be very long, being little more than a Month, which was short enough Time to be spent in making the late Regent's Funeral, and to convene the Nobility therein. For, according to himself, the Election was in December; but our Acts of Parliament (which are more authentick) say, it was the 24th of November. But however long their Consultations were, we do not hear that he had any Competitor, or that there was any other mentioned or nominated with him; and seeing he says it was done by one Consent, then were there not any contrary Votes, or contradicting and con-

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testifying, but a perfect and full Uniformity and Harmony of Mind amongst all of that Side. Nay, even of those of the other Side also, who sent (as some Notes say which I have seen) Commission and Proxies to that purpose, and namely, the Duke, and the Earl of Huntly. Others say, there were at the Parliament, where this Regency was confirmed, holden the 26th of January in *Edinburgh*. They that delay it longer, cast their yielding in February at *Perth*, where they name Huntly, *Argyle*, *Athole*, and in general, the greatest part (say they) of the Nobility; and so we see his Entry was free and right, and duly approved by all. The rest of his Office we have to consider; it lasted the Space of five Years and three Months, till the 12th of March 1577, which is the Time of his Dismission. All this Time the Country enjoyed a full and perfect Peace; save so much War as they had in recovering the Castle of *Edinburgh* out of the Enemies Hands. There were within the Castle, besides *Grange* Captain thereof, Secretary *Maitland*, and his Brother Mr. *John Prior* of *Coldingham*, afterwards Chancellor of *Scotland*, who remained still in terms of Hostility. I know not why, nor wherefore; whether it was that they thought themselves so guilty, as that they could not be pardoned; or that they had conceived such Spleen and Hatred against the other Faction that they would not be reconciled, and so out of Despair, taking a desperate Course, or that they were born up with Hopes of some Change, perswading themselves that this Agreement among the Parties could not last long, being so ill cemented, as they conceived, but that some Difference would soon arise upon some Occasion or other; and that the rather, having their Example for the present, and the Castle of *Edinburgh* for a Place of Refuge, when it should be needful.

UPON

The Queen's
Party within
the Castle of
Edinburgh.

UPON these, or such like Considerations, being also not altogether forsaken of the French (who sent some small Supply of Money, but large Promises by *James Kirkaldy*, Brother to *Grange*, who landing at *Blackness*, conveyed himself and it secretly into the Castle, they resolved to be the last in yielding, and to hold out so long as possibly they could, assuring themselves that they could make their Peace when they listed (if it should come to the worst) by surrendering the Place upon good Conditions. There were with these forenamed, as their Followers, the Lord *Hume*, who was altogether led by *Maitland's* Counsel and *Logan of Restalrig*, who depended upon *Hume*. *Pittradrav* was Lieutenant to *Grange* the Captain, and Sir *Robert Melvill* was Uncle to *Grange*. The Regent being resolved to pull this Thorn out of his Foot, caused the Castle to be inclosed with a Trench, and Soldiers set to keep it, under the Command of Captain *The Castle Crawford*, and Captain *David Hume* before blocked up. mentioned. And because they of the Castle watered at a Well called *St. Margaret's Well*, Captain *Mitchell* was appointed to ly with his Company at *St. Cuthbert's Kirk*, who hindred them from fetching Water from thence, and after a while, he found Means to poison it, and so left it without any Guard. While the Castle was thus blocked up, one Captain *Bruce* issued forth thereof, to bring in Victuals, but he was taken by the Regent's Men, saith Mr. *Thin*: A thing very hard to be conceived, how he either durst, or could do it; neither is there any Mention or Memory of his being there, any where else to be found. Now because the Castle did annoy the City with their Ordinance, so that none could walk in the Street, which lies open in a straight Line from the Castle, exposed to their Mercy, without

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Parliament
at Edinburgh

Danger of their Lives, the Regent caused make three Traverses or Dikes, and Ramparts of Earth, Turf and Dung, athwart and crossing the Street, so thick, as that they were Cannon-proof, and could not be pierced, and so high, that they took away the View of the Street from them of the Castle. One of these was raised hard by the Land-Market above the Tolbooth, and the other two, with proportionable Distance one from another, nearer the Castle, so that the Citizens and others walked safely to and fro about their Business, and the Lords also sat in Parliament without any Hurt, notwithstanding that the very Day of their sitting, the 26th of January, or as others the 16th, for their Welcome and first Salutation, they had bestowed on them 87 great Shot, only there was one poor Dog killed before the Regent's Door: Neither was there any great Hurt done before, though they had been still sending their Volleys, the first of January, at which Time the Truce expired, not above six Persons were hurt that kept the Trenches, and as many within the City, but none slain. One night the Captain issued forth, and skirmished with the Regent's Soldiers in the Trenches, till he found Means to set some Houses of the City on Fire, which, the Wind being high, did spread through the City, and when any did offer to quench it, he caused the Ordnance to play so thick upon them, that none daring to come near it, there were some hundred Houses consumed therewith, being burnt down to the Ground, but not any Man either slain, or hurt. This Fact made him, who was hated before, to be abhorred and thought abominable by all Men.

WHEREFORE the Regent, determining no more to dally with him, not having sufficient Store of Artillery of his own, and fearing
left

least the Castle, being well victualled, might
 to hold out too long, he sent to the Queen of
 England to borrow of her, who sent him thirty
 Pieces in all, viz. nine Canon, six Demi-
 canons, six Sakers, and nine Culverines, with
 all manner of needful Provision, together
 with 7000 Or, as Mr. Thom. saith, 1000 Men,
 and under the Conduct of Sir William Drury Ge-
 neral. With these, and 300 hired Soldiers of
 Scotland, besides the Gentlemen Volunteers and
 Citizens of Edinburgh, after he had summoned
 the Castle, and they not obeying, he sat down
 before it, the 20th of April 1573. They rais-
 ed five Mounts or Terrasses whereon to plant
 their Battery, in that Place where now Heriot's
 work is built. These, being called by the se-
 veral Names of the chief Commanders; first, the
 King's; 2dly, Mount Drury; 3dly, Mount Leyes,
 from Sir George Leyes; 4thly, Mount Carle from
 Sir George Carle; and, 5thly, Mount Sutton, from
 Thomas Sutton Master of the Ordnance, were
 finished the 17th of May, with great Toil and
 Labour, and not without some Loss of Men
 by Shot from the Castle. They began their
 Battery the 17th of May, and continued it till
 the 26th. The Castle is situate on a steep and
 inaccessible Rock, having a large Outer-court
 beneath that Craig whereon the Castle stand-
 eth. About this Court there is a strong Wall,
 and on that Side which lieth towards the Town
 of Edinburgh, a Bulwark or Block-house, end-
 ing in sharp Point, being made in form of a
 Triangle; the Use of it is to defend the En-
 trance and Gates of the Castle. The Walls of
 this Blockhouse are subject to the Sight and
 Shot of the Castle, and so may be defended
 by those that are within; but the Corner and
 sharp Point thereof is not so; and if it be ta-
 ken by the Enemy, those that are within the
 Castle cannot annoy them. There were with-
 in

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in the Castle at the inner End of the said Blockhouse, two Turrets of ancient Workmanship, but more high than strong; of which the one was called *David's Tower*, which stood nearer the Gate, the other without it, nearer to the South, was called *Wallace Tower*; but I know not the Reason of their Names. Against these two Towers, and the Side of the Blockhouse nearest to the Castle, they directed their first Battery. Thereafter they battered round about on every Side of the Castle; and having dismounted some of the Ordnance within, and broken other some, by shooting in at the Mouth thereof, their Cannon did little Hurt, being made unserviceable. Besides, *David's Tower* being battered, was beaten down, and fell in such sort, that the Ruins thereof did dam up the Gate and Entrance betwixt the Castle and the Outter-court and Blockhouse. The Blockhouse was also battered in that Part that was over against the Gate; and *Wallace Tower* which stood above the Gate within the Castle, was beaten down. There was a Breach large enough, made not far from the Gate of the Bulwark; and the Ditch also was filled up with Stones and Rubbish; so that they might well enough have entred there; but because it lay so open in the very Mouth of the Enemy's Shot, it was not thought safe to give the Assault at that Place. Wherefore having provided Ladders, they went to the Point of the Blockhouse, there to climb up out of Danger of the Enemy's Shot. The foremost in this Service were Captain *Hume* and Captain *Crawford*: *Hume's* Ladder being too short, and there being one of his Men also shot upon the Ladder behind him, he was forced to come down again, and so *Crawford* got first up, and *Hume* followed him upon his Ladder, and so did the rest of the Soldiers, without any Hurt done.

done. So they went forward, and planted a *Corps de garde* before the Gate of the Blockhouse, called *Hume's Porter-lodge*; I know not why or how it got that Name. They had no Let or Impediment, save that they had some small Shot from the Castle, for the great Ordnance could not annoy them, being so high above them; and those that had kept the Blockhouse, had forsaken it, and were taken in to the Castle, being towed up over the Wall in the Night: for it being sore battered, and the Passage from thence to the Castle being so dammed up, that there could come no Relief nor Succour to them from within, they would not stay in it any longer, but abandoned it. While they were in scaling the Blockhouse, there was another Company sent to make Shew of giving an Assault at another Place; but they having gone further on than they had Warrant or Direction, they were repulsed, and about thirty of them slain. And so they did, as it were make an Exchange, and recompense their Loss of the Blockhouse with the Death of these thirty. But this taking of the Blockhouse was a Matter of no great Consequence; for neither could they any ways annoy or harm them that were within from thence; neither was the Castle Wall any where scalable, but as hard and difficult to get up into as ever. Only they had taken from them the only Well which was left them, and out of which had been furnished to each Man a Pint of Water a Day: For the other Well that was within the Castle by the Fall of *David's Tower*, was so filled with Lime and Rubbish that it served them to no Use; besides, they were at Variance amongst themselves; for the Soldiers were not well pleased with their Captain, in regard of his hard Usage of them; for he had committed to his Wife the Charge of distributing their

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Vivers, so to please her in that, that she might be the better contented to bear with his untimely and unlawful Love towards her Maid, whom he entertained all this while. It is true, the Victual began to grow scarce, but she made it scarcer by her niggardly Disposition. They did not mutiny, but they murmured so, that they within were content to parly with the Besiegers: Wherefore the 26th of May, Grange the Captain, Pittadraw Lieutenant, and Sir Robert Melvill came down over the Wall by a Rope, and spake with General Drury; for they addressed themselves to him, as one in whom they did much confide, as a Favourer of theirs; they demanded that their Lives, Lands and Honour safe, they might depart with Bag and Baggage, both he and all that were with him. But when he could not obtain that, he returned to the Castle again. The Regent after this, found Means to let the Soldiers understand, that if they would render up the Castle, their Lives should be saved, and they should have free Liberty to pass with Bag and Baggage whether they pleased, else that they must expect all Rigour and Extremity. Hereupon they shew themselves unwilling to undergo any more Pains or Danger for him, and refuse to obey him; so that he was constrained to yield up the Castle the 28th or 29th of May, without any Condition at all, but referring himself absolutely to the Queen of England's Pleasure. Her Pleasure was to remit all to the Regent's own Wisdom and Discretion, and so the 16th of July she called back Sir William Drury and her Soldiers, as also about the same Time her Ships and Munition were sent home again to her. Concerning the Prisoners, the Lord Hume was committed again to the Castle, and the Castle to the

The Castle
rendred.

the keeping of *George Douglas of Parkhead*, Brother natural to the Regent. *Sir William Maitland of Lethington* died, the 9th of July at *Leith*, where he lay with *Drury*, before he was suspected and reported to have poisoned himself. What Fear, what Guiltiness, or what other Occasion there was to move him hereto, or what Information he got, or Apprehension he took, of the Regent's Mind towards him in particular, I know not; but after that he knew that he was to be left by the *English* in the Regent's Hands, he lived not many Days. None of the rest were hardly used, save *Grange* the Captain, who being odious for his Breach of Faith to those of the King's Side, with whom he took Part at first, and much more hated for his treacherous Dealing with the first Regent *Murray*, who had been so kind and loving a Friend to him, and had trusted so much to him; but most of all for his Obstinacy and unmerciful Cruelty in firing the Town of *Edinburgh*, and not suffering them to quench it, the common People did so abominate and detest him, that they could not abstain from reviling and cursing of him, as he was led along, after the Castle was surrendered; neither could they be hindred from stoning of him: So that they who were with him were fain, for saving of themselves and him, to take the House upon their Heads. And now that he was in the Regent's Power, there was no way to satisfy them, but by executing of him: Wherefore being condemned for these Things, he was put into a Cart, and drawn backward to the Marker-place of *Edinburgh*, where he was hanged, and with him his Brother *Mr. James Kirkaldy*, and two Men of *Edinburgh*, *Mosman* and *Cackie*, who had made false Coin in the Castle, on the 3d Day of *August 1573*. *Mr. John Maitland* was sent Pri-

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Prisoner to Tantallon, and Sir Robert Melvill to Lethington, to be kept there by David Hume of Fishick, who then possessed it.

THIS was the only Exploit of War which he atchieved, and by which he acquired great Reputation; the former Regents having never been able to get this Castle into their Hands; as also by his noways rigorous Dealing with those that were in it. The rest of the Time of his Regency, there was a general Peace in the Kingdom, and full Obedience was yielded to him by all Men. No Man of those times had seen the like before; no King was ever more dreaded and reverenced, nor did ever keep all sorts of People, Highlanders, Lowlanders, Borderers and all, in better Order and greater Subjection, even to inferior Magistrates, both Civil and Ecclesiastical. The chief Mean hereof was the Execution of the Laws. He made not many new ones, but what he made he took Care to have observed. Concerning Religion, there are five Acts extant, which he made in his first Parliament, the 26th of January 1572, before the besieging of the Castle. 1. The first of these is relative to an Act made by Regent Murray before. In it, being made for establishing of Religion, it had been declared, ' That they ' were not of the Church, that did not ap- ' prove of the Heads of Religion then received, ' and who refused to participate of the Sacra- ' ments as they were then administrated. Mor- ' ton ordains, in this Parliament, such Per- ' sons to be first searched for, and, 2. admo- ' nished to recant their wicked Errors; 3. to ' make Confession of their Faith, according to ' the Form prescribed; 4. to participate of the ' Sacraments; 5. submit to the Discipline of ' the Church within such a competent time; ' 6. if they fail to do this, that they be ex- ' com-

A Parlia-
ment.

Acts cou-
cerning Re-
ligion.

communicated; 7. then to have their Names
 printed in a Catalogue; 8. divulged; 9. and
 affixed on the Tolbooth Door of Edinburgh;
 10. from thenceforth to be reputed infamous;
 11. not to sit or stand in Judgment, pursue,
 defend, or bear any publick Office; 12. not
 to be admitted as a Proof or Witness, or
 Assizer against any professing the reformed
 Religion; till they submit, be reconciled, and
 obtain a Testimonial of their Reconciliation.
 That to be in this Catalogue shall be a rele-
 vant Exception against, 1. Judges principal,
 2. or Deputies; 3. Members of Court; 4.
 Officers, 5. Parties or Procurators, 6. Persons
 of Inquest; 7. or Witnesses, to decline them
 from, 1. Judgment, 2. Office, 3. Pursuit, 4.
 Procuration, 5. Inquest, or 6. bearing Wit-
 nesses: That the Archbishops, Bishops, Super-
 intendents, Visitors, Commissioners, Readers,
 shall give in their Names within every one
 of their Bounds, under Pain of forfeiting a
 Years Rent in case they fail. II. The second
 Act is, That all Ecclesiastical Persons, that is
 Ministers, or such as pretend any Right to
 have, or brook and enjoy any Benefice, 2.
 Liferent; 3. Stipend, 4. Pension, 5. or Por-
 tion of Benefice, who shall not confess, sub-
 scribe, and participate the Sacraments as said
 is, shall be *ipso facto* deprived, and all his
 Ecclesiastical Promotions and Livings shall
 be void and vacant, as if he were naturally
 dead. III. The third Act, That none should
 be reputed as loyal and faithful Subjects to
 our Sovereign Lord, but be punishable as Re-
 bels, that gave not Confession and Professi-
 on of the reformed Religion; that such as
 had once professed it, and afterwards made
 Defection, should return before the first of
 June next, and renew their former Confes-
 sion; 1. Promise to continue in it; 2. to
 main-

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maintain the King's Authority; 3. the Preachers; 4. and Professors of the true Religion, against whomsoever and whatsoever Enemies, especially against all, of whatsoever Nation or Degree, that had bound themselves to maintain the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and were falsely called, *The holy League*. IV. The fourth Act, That whosoever were excommunicated, and remained so for forty Days, Letters of Horning should be directed to charge him to satisfy the Decree of the Church pronounced against him, and to be reconciled to the Church, and submit to the Discipline thereof, under Pain of Rebellion: And if he did remain obstinate, that he should be put to the Horn, and then Letters of Caption should be granted to apprehend him, &c. V. The fifth Act was, That Ecclesiastical Persons, such as above, remaining Year and Day at the Horn, should lose their Liferents. These Laws he procured to be made in Parliament; and being made, he saw them duly executed; by which means it came to pass, that in his Time there was no Man in Scotland that professed avowedly any other Religion than the Reformed, or maintained any Point of Religion contrary to the Doctrine of this Church. Men do now wonder at it, how it could be; yet so it was, and this was the Mean that procured it. As for the Borders, he tamed and daunted them by Inrodes; and Justice Ayres, executing some for Terror to others, taking Pledges and Hostages of the rest, and punishing them that transgressed according to their Faults, most part by pecuniary Mulcts and Fines. The Highlanders were kept in, by binding the Chief of the Clans over to the Peace; and partly by Fear, partly by Gentleness, he drew them to the Obedience of the Laws. But the chief

Mean

Mean for all, was a solid and perfect Peace established amongst the Nobility, the only certain and sure way of keeping the Borderers in order; as by the contrary, a Scir amongst the States, (as themselves speak) doth never fail to incite them to their thieving and robbing. This he knowing well, partly by his Wisdom compassed and effected it, partly it fell out of its own accord by Mens Inclination thereto, being wearied with so long Troubles, and the turbulent Heads that stirred up and entertained Dissention, being now taken away by Death. It is Matter of Laughter and Sport, to consider Mens Judgments concerning this his Government. I heard then, and have read since in some Memorials of those Times, his Government mightily taxed and reproached, and himself censured as covetous and greedy, as one that hanged some poor Snakes for a Shew of Justice, but suffered the richer Thieves to escape for their Money: And yet the same Men do not stick to say and write, betwixt the 3d of *March* 1575, and the 4th of *March* 1577, the Space of two Years, there was nothing of Importance to write of: All this time the Regent governed the Realm both well and wisely; for during these two Years, the common People had Rest and Quietness, not considering that his Government in the former Years had procured and caused the Rest and Quietness of these Years: Yea, these same things which they call hanging of the Poor for a shew of Justice, and letting the Rich go for Money, they might call it, if they would speak in proper Terms, and give it the right Name, a just Moderation and tempering of Justice with Lenity; punishing some, lest Impunity might breed Contempt of the Law, punishing the fewest, and in the gentlest sort, lest too much Rigour might drive them to Despair, and to force

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force them to desperate Courses, and to stir up new Commotions. If this Course did withal meet right with any natural Inclination in him towards Money; yet that Inclination did rather concur with this Judgment than cause it. He knew the Nature of his Countrymen, how they cannot easily endure to have their Lives touched, or their Blood meddled with, and how hard it is to over-master them by the strong Hand and a violent Way, but far more easy to be overcome and gained by fair Means; and therefore out of his Wisdom he made choice of this, as the best Way for his Purpose of settling Peace. The Event and Issue did justify his Choice; for from hence did arise a full Peace, and perfect Quietness, together with all Obedience and good Order in Church and State at Home, and Account and great Esteem of Strangers abroad. His Means indeed were also increased, yet that came not so much by publick Fines or Forfeitures, as by his good Husbandry and thrifty managing of the Revenues of the Crown, and his own private Estate: For no Man knew better how to improve both the one and the other, and to make the best of them, and no Man was more careful and diligent in it than he. He guided both himself, and employed his own Pains and Industry therein, as in all Affairs whatsoever. His Servants were ever particularly directed by himself, and they did but execute what he commanded. The chief Men he used were *John Carmichael* of *Carmichael*, and *George Auchinleck* of *Balmanno*. He employed the former in all Matters that were to be done upon the Borders, having made him even a Warden; the other had a care to gather in his Rents, and was as it were, Steward or Chamberlain to him. His private Delight was in planting and building, which he did very magnificently, especially at *Dal-*

Dalkeith, for which *Drumlanrig* admonished him, that it was too sumptuous and stately for a Subject, and too near to *Edinburgh*. He built also a House in *Tiviotdale*, called the *Droch-holes*, for his private Retreat.

He grew so in Esteem of Wisdom and Riches with all Men, that it was no Wonder though he were a little touched with the Opinion of it himself, being now past all Emulation, and so accounted of by all Men, he could not but esteem also well of himself. They who did envy him, had little Hope to hurt him by Action, being above their Reach; but by their Tongues they sought to make him envied of all, saying, *He had all the Riches, all the Friendship, and all the Wisdom of Scotland him alone.* This was hyperbolical, and spoken to stir Envy; yet thus far it was true, that he had more of all these than any other one Man, and so much as all his Enemies were not able to match or impair. He had added to his Friendship great Parties, the Lord *Maxwell* and *Hamilton*. *Maxwell* married his Niece, a Daughter of his Brother *David*, and Sister-german to *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*) and the Lord *Bothwell* also had married her Sister *Margaret*, Relict of *Walter Scot* of *Buccleugh*. The Lord *Hamilton* had been in great Enmity with him; for, besides the publick Cause of Regent *Murray's* Death, he, with his Brother *Claud* of *Paisley*, had killed *Johnston* of *Westerhall* a Follower and Depender of the House of *Angus*. At that Time the Countess of *Cassils*, *Lyon* by Name, of the House of *Glamis*, and a near Cousin of the Regent, was a Widow; Whether the Love to that Lady brought on the Reconcilement, or their Reconciliation occasioned the Affection to the Lady, it is hard to say; but so it was, that *Hamilton* suited her
in

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in Marriage, and obtained his Suit; and by this all Quarrels, and more especially that Slaughter of *Westerhall* was taken away. And for the better Satisfaction herein, both the Brothers, the Lord *Hamilton* and *Claud of Paisley*, made publick Obeysance to *Archibald Earl of Angus*, in the Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, by coming the whole Breadth of the Inner-court thereof, barefooted, and bareheaded, and falling down on their Knees, holding each a naked Sword by the Point, delivered it to him to take hold thereof by the Pommel. This was in the Year 1575, the 7th of *March*, being *Monday*. After this *Hamilton* was married to the Lady. Yet may it be doubted, whether he acquired more Friendship in private by them, than he furnished Matter of Obloquy in publick to the Country, because both these Brothers were accounted Authors or accessory to the killing the Earl of *Lennox*, then Regent, and the King's Grandfather; as also they had been of that of Regent *Murray*. These Slaughters all the Nobility, especially of the King's Side, had solemnly sworn to avenge: And now by this he seemed to neglect that Quarrel, and his Oath, and that he had more Care to be satisfied in his own Particular, for the Slaughter of one mean Man his Dependence. It grieved particularly *William Douglas of Lochlevin*, who desisted not from the Pursuit of those that had slain his Brother *Murray*, after a private Manner, seeing he could not get publick Justice executed; twice he set upon the Lord *Hamilton* as he was coming from *Aberbrothock*, and chased him so, that he was constrained to return to *Aberbrothock* again. Another Time as he was coming through *Fife*, he made him flee to *Dairsy*, which he beset and lay about it, till the Regent sent to him, and commanded him to desist. However, by the

the Alliance of these Noblemen, he seemed more strengthened and more secured. The Earl of *Angus*, his Nephew, was married to the Lord *Erskine's* Sister, Daughter to the Earl of *Mar*, late Regent, a Lady of rare Beauty and Virtue, and worthily made choice of by *Morton*, who was Author of the Match, both because of the Lady's deserving, as also for that it not a little seemed to strengthen him, seeing her Mother and Uncles, during the Minority of her Brother, had the Custody and Education of the young King's Person, which was the only Way to attempt any thing against his Regency. Whether these things begat in him Security, and Security bred Carelessness to entertain Men's Love, from whence did arise a loathing of him in all Estates, and Coldness in particular Friendship, or whatever the Occasion was, certain it is, that he kept his Place more by the Estimation of all, than by the Affection of many, on the Occasions following. We shewed before, how in Matters of Church-government, he ever inclined, as the most politick Course, to the Estate of Bishops. The Name was yet retained by Custom, the Rents were lifted also by them (as we have said) more for other Men's Profit than their own. They had also Place and Vote in Parliament after the old Manner, and he would gladly have had them to have kept their Power and Jurisdiction over their Brethren. Mr. *John Douglas* being dead, he filled the Place, by putting in Mr. *Patrick Adamson* his domestick Chaplain, who then followed that Course, though before he had preached against it. Many were displeased herewith, all the Ministers, especially they of greatest Authority, and all Men of all Estates that were best affected to Religion. He endeavoured also to have put the Charge and Cure of more Churches into

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one Preacher's Hands, that there being the fewer to provide of Stipends, the King's Revenues (who paid them out of the thirds of the Church Lands) might be increased by the Surplus which remained to him. He did so eagerly press this Point, that some thought it necessary to write against this Course, namely, Mr. *John Davidson* Minister at *Salt-Preston*, then a Student at *St. Andrews*; him he caused to be summoned to underly the Law, and to be indicted criminally; and being intreated for him, he shewed himself so animated against him, that he durst not undergo his Trial, but fled to *England*, with the Consent of those that were Bail for him; of whom he exacted the Sum to the full, and they willingly did chuse rather to pay it, than to expose their Friend to the Hazard of his Wrath. The Printer of the Book, *Robert Lekprevik*, was convicted by an Assize or Jury, and committed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. It was also hardly taken, that he sought to diminish the Authority of the General Assemblies of the Church, by refusing to be present, being desired, at an Assembly holden in *Edinburgh*, the 6th of *March 1573*, which was very frequently and solemnly kept almost by the whole Body of the Country; the Nobility, Gentry, Commissioners from Burrows, as the Custom had always been, and as he himself before had been present at them: Yea, he began to question the Privilege and Liberty thereof, by asking the Commissioners (which were sent from them to crave his Assistance thereat) Who had given them Power to assemble the King's Lieges without his Leave, who was in Authority? With this unlooked-for Demand, they were dashed at first, but recollecting and gathering their Wits again, they answered, *He that gave Power to preach and hear Preaching, gave Power*

General Assembly in
Edinburgh.

Power also to convene in Assemblies: Neither doth it depend on Man, say they. He said, That was Treason. They answered, That if so be, then all the Apostles were Traitors, and the primitive Church in time of Persecution. He said, That they convened only to preach the Word: They answered, That they convened to advance, facilitate, and set forward the preaching of the Word, and that was to preach also. But however, if to convene without the Consent of the Magistrate were unlawful, Preaching was also unlawful, unless they should preach to the Walls. A little Wrangling thus passed, he in end refused to go, which did so grieve them all, that a publick Fast was appointed to pray for diverting and averting of such Things as he seemed by this to intend against the accustomed Assemblies. He propounded to be reasoned, Whether the supreme Magistrate should not be Head of the Church, as well as of the Commonwealth; and there were Divines appointed to dispute it for the Church, Mr. James Lowson Minister at Edinburgh, the Laird of Dun, Superintendant of Angus, and Mr. John Spotswood Superintendant of Lothian, and James or Mr. David Lindsay. For the Regent, there was the Justice Clerk, Mr. David Borthwick, Sir James Balfour, and William Douglas of Whittingham. These met at Edinburgh, in the Abbey, and conferred for the Space of twelve or thirteen Days; but he finding no Appearance of obtaining that Point, dissolved the Meeting till a new Appointment.

THE Commons, and chiefly the Town of Edinburgh were offended with him, because he had diminished the Value of a certain Brass or Copper-coin, called *Hard-heads*, and abased them from Three-half-pence to a Penny, and also the Plack Piece, another Brass Coin, from four Pence to two: Which was done

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notwithstanding, by the Consent of a very frequent Convention, where the whole Nobility, (no Earl, Lord, or great Man in Scotland being absent, except the Lord *Hamilton*, not then reconciled) was present the 25th of *February* 1573. He licensed also the transporting of Corn out of the Country, against which he himself had made an Act; but now he dispensed with the Act for Money. He committed all the Butchers of *Edinburgh* for forstalling the Market, and afterwards dismissed them, having paid a Fine. He held Justice-Eyres, and raised a Taxation, under Colour to cut down the Woods of *Hairlaw*, on the Borders, which was a Place of Retreat and Refuge to Outlaws, Thieves and Rebels. These things were interpreted to be done rather as a Pretext to get Money, than for any other good Use or End. He was in his own Person loosely given (his own Wife being frantick) and his Household Servants were not much better, as it commonly comes to pass by Imitation. They were also not altogether void of Envy for their great Wealth; nor of Hatred, in regard of the Way that Men thought they got it, which was, by receiving and taking Bribes from such as had Suits to him for obtaining Access to him, or his Favour by their Means, and some such indirect Ways. Riches are ordinarily accompanied with Haughtiness and disdain of others, either really or in Men's Opinion, which doth again beget Disdain in those that think them disdainful. This was the general Opinion Men conceived of his Servants, from the highest to the lowest, even of his Door-keepers and Grooms. One thing did marvelously offend Men, *George Auchinleck* of *Balmanno* having some small Quarrel against one Captain *Nisbet*, being come out of *Dalkeith*, where the Regent commonly kept his
Re-

Residence, and going up the Street, he met this *Nisbet*, where drawing his Rapier he thrust him through, and leaving him as dead, he held on his Way to the Tolbooth, where the Lords of the Session sat, as though he had done no Wrong, with great Indignation of the Beholders; and at Night he returned to *Dalkeith*, where he waited upon the Regent as before. This made the People murmur both against him as the Actor, and against the Regent as conniving thereat, who perhaps did not hear of it, at least for a certain Space. This *Auchinleck's* Credit with the Regent was so great, that all Suits for the most part were obtained by him: And therefore Men of the best Quality countenanced and followed him, which was both observed and disdained. One Day this Man being in the Tolbooth, within the Inner Bar, *Oliver Sinclair*, sometime Minion and Favourite to King *James V.* who was now in Court, standing at the middle Bar, intreated earnestly to speak with him, which having obtained with Difficulty, when the other asked what he had to say to him, *Oliver* answered, *I am Oliver Sinclair*, and without saying any more, left him; as if he should have said, *Be not too proud of your Interest at Court, I was once as you are, you may fall to be as I am.* This was Matter of much Talk a long Time.

THE Nobility grudged to see the Regent and his Servants to ingross all Matters of Profit and Advantage to themselves alone. If any Writ were to pass, it passed through at the highest rate; few Casualties were given cheap, fewer *gratis*. The Marriages of Wards, the Gifts of Escheat, re-abling, or Naturalization, were bestowed all upon his Domesticks. They were neglected in these Things, and in other Things also of a higher Nature, their Advice was not often sought, nor themselves much

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employed, as if he had not stood in need of them. The Earl of *Argyle* was mightily incensed against him upon this Occasion. He had a Jewel which had sometime belonged to Queen *Mary*, which was an Ensign of precious Stones, set in Form of the Letter *H*, for *Henry*, which his Lady had either gotten from the Queen, who was her Sister, to keep, or some other way, in a Token perhaps; the Regent re-demanded it, as belonging to the King; and when he got it not by Request, he sent an Officer of Arms to him, and charged for it; whereupon it was delivered to him, but with great Alienation of his Heart and Affection ever after.

HIS most near and particular Friends wanted not their own Exceptions and Grievances against him. In the East and middle March he planted Strangers amongst them, as *Archibald Auchinleck*, Brother to *George*, and *Archibald Carmichael*, Brother to *John Carmichael* of *Carmichael* in the *Merse*: These he married to two Wards, the last to one *Hume*, Inheritrix of *Edrem*; and the former to one *Sleigh* of *Cumlege*, notwithstanding that she had gone away with *Patrick Cockburn*, Brother-german to the Laird of *Langton*, who had kept her certain Days; yet he caused an Officer of Arms to charge him to deliver her, and so she was exhibited, and married to *Auchinleck*. Both these march with the Lands of *Bunkle*, belonging to the Earl of *Angus*; and therefore this planting of these Men there, was not well taken, but was interpreted, as if he had meant to strengthen himself there by them, and to acquire Dependents there for himself, not leaning or trusting sufficiently to those of the Earl of *Angus*, or his Friends in that Country. The purchasing of the Lands of *Spot* to his natural Son *James*, wrought him both Hatred

tered and Hurt in the End; for it quite alienated *Alexander Hume* of *Manderston*. This *Alexander* had to Wife a Sister of *George Hume* of *Spot*, and by her divers Children, of which one was *George*, afterwards Earl of *Dunbar*. *George* of *Spot* having but one Daughter, had taken to him, and, in a manner, adopted this *George* Son to *Alexander*, with Resolution to bestow his Daughter on him in Marriage, and with her his whole Estate. It fell out afterwards that *John Cockburn* of *Ormiston* married a Daughter of *Alexander* of *Manderston*. This *John* having some Difference with *Spot* about some Lands, the very Day before his Marriage, rode with his Company, and did eat up the Corns that grew on the controverted Lands, which *Spot* had sown. The next Day *Spot* being at the Wedding of his Sister's Daughter, complained of the Wrong done to him, but received small Satisfaction, either of the Bridegroom, or of his Brother-in-law, who was loth to offend his new Ally. *Spot* conceived such Indignation hereat, that to be revenged of *Manderston*, he resolved to sell his Estate, and to bestow his Daughter some where else, and so disappoint his Son *George*. Wherefore he addresses himself to the Regent, and offers his Daughter with his whole Estate to his Son *James*. The Regent, nothing slack to such an Occasion, without more Scruple, or any Question, transacted and contracted with him, and the Marriage was accordingly accomplished betwixt *Anna Hume* and *James Douglas*, who got by her all the Lands pertaining to her Father *George Hume* of *Spot*, his Liferent only being reserved. By these means *Alexander* of *Manderston*, and his Son *George* were debouted and frustrate, which did so incense him, that from that Time forward, he lay in wait, as it were, and watched for an Opportunity

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to be revenged off the Regent. There lieth near unto these Lands of *Spot* the Lordship of *Thurston*, which belonged by Inheritance to *Craigie-Wallace*, but was possessed by Sir *George Hume* of *Wedderburn*, and had been possessed by his Predecessors so long a Time, that it is thought to have been their Possession before they had *Wedderburn*, for eight or nine Generations. The Right they had was sometimes a Lease, sometimes the Lease expiring, Kindliness only. At last, the King having given to *Wedderburn* the Lands of *Dundonald*, which lay hard by *Craigie-Wallace's* Gates, *Wedderburn* puts him in Possession of them, and retains his Possession of *Thurston*, wherewith they rested both a long Time well contented and satisfied. This Excambion being real, and without Writ on either Side, it fell out that the King's Lands, which had not as yet been set in Feu, coming to be set out, they that were intrusted therewith, finding *Craigie-Wallace* in Possession of *Dundonald*, gave him a legal Right to it, and so he had the Right both of it and *Thurston*. Hereupon he warns *Wedderburn* to remove from *Thurston*, as having no Right thereto, but he kept his Possession. On this ensued no little Trouble, by reason of *Waughton's* assisting of him, who had married *Craigie-Wallace's* Sister. Afterwards Sir *George* of *Wedderburn*, Uncle to this Sir *George*, marrying a Daughter of *Waughton's*, Matters were accorded, and *Wedderburn* no more molested. The Regent knew all this very well, and yet notwithstanding hereof, the nearness of *Thurston* to *Spot*, and his Desire to enrich his Son, made him to send for *Craigie-Wallace*, and buy his Title and Right from him to *Thurston*. Then he sends for *Wedderburn*, tells him what he had done, and that he did not mean to make him a Loser thereby; and therefore

fore desires to know what Satisfaction he would have for his Right and Interest. He answered, *That he desired nothing but his own, and that only could content him.* The Regent replied, *That he had now bought that:* And the other answered, *That he was the more unkind to buy that, which he knew to be his, by so long and kindly Possession.* No other in Scotland, says he, would have bought it, nor you, my Lord, if you had not been Regent. This he bore patiently, as a free Speech of a justly offended Friend; yet he still pressed him to know what Satisfaction he would have, but the other persisted in his former Answer, *That his own would only content him.* So they parted, being divided in this Matter, but without Breach of Friendship. After a while the Regent, to bring on the Matter more freely, and to necessitate him thereto, makes Warning, and no Objection being made, obtains a Decree of Removing against him. *Wedderburn*, to shew what little Account he made of these Doings, falls a building on it, that he might know he had no Intention to remove. He had a Lease, which was not expired as yet, and there were two or three Years thereof to run; but he would not make use of it, but kept it up, partly to try the Regent's Intention, partly reserving it as a Ground of Reduction, if there was need. Thus they continued all the Time of his Regency; after his Demission the Difference was taken away by *William Douglas of Lochlevin*, after this manner, *Wedderburn* got one half of the Lands, the Mannor-house, and what lay about it, and a full and perfect Right thereto, and quitted the other half, which was let out in Tenantry. *Sir James Hume of Coldinknows*, and *Alexander Hume of Hutton-hall* were also alienated from him, but I know not what the Occasion of it was.

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In *Tivordale*, *William Ker* of *Cessford*, and *Andrew Ker* of *Fawdounside* were likewise displeased, and had fallen off from him for some hard Usage. He had banished *William Ker* of *Ancrum*, for the Feud betwixt him and the *Rutherfords*, of whom he had slain one. His Father's House of *Ancrum* was seized, and given in keeping to his Enemies the *Turnbulls*. His Mother, a Daughter of the House of *Wedderburn*, and the Regent's Cousin-german, had often sued to him, to have it restored to her and her Husband, but could not prevail with him. At last she found Means by herself and her Servants, to get into the House, being negligently kept, and turning the Keepers out of Doors, without doing them any Harm, dwelt in it with her Husband, and her other Son *Robert*. *William* absented himself from publick View, and remained sometimes in *England*, but most part in *Wedderburn*, both in *Sir David's* and *Sir George's* Time; neither was the Regent very careful to pursue him, or search after him, though he knew of it, and they made no Bones to confess their receiving and entertaining of him in their Houses, yet would he not release him from his Banishment, being loath to displease the *Turnbulls* and *Rutherfords*, whose Service was very useful to him. He tolerated also *John Hume*, Son natural to *John* of *Crumstain* of the House of *Wedderburn*, who had been with *William Ker* of *Ancrum* in all his Troubles, so far as at the Meeting which the Regent had with the *English*, after the *Red-swire*, he being in company with *Wedderburn*, the *Turnbulls* and *Rutherfords*, perceiving him to be there, went to the Regent, and complained that he was suffered to live in the Country, being a Rebel, and one that had so much wronged them. Let him alone, says the Regent, and do not meddle with him at this

this Time, when he hath so many of his Friends about him: For if he were now challenged, it might trouble you and me both. Some few Days after this he went to Tantallon with Wedderburn, where having kept himself out of the Regent's Sight all the Day long, at Night, when the Regent was gone to Bed, he fell to Cards with the Servants in the Hall. The Regent's Chamber was hard by, and he, not resting well, rose and came to the Hall in his Nightgown, to look on their Gaming: By Chance John sat next to him, and he leaned with his Hand on his Shoulder a long Time, without knowing him; at last going away to Bed again, he perceived it was he, and smiling, said to him, GOD make you a good Man; and so went his way. From thence forward John conversed in publick, and came ordinarily into his Presence without being challenged, as if he had been formally released from his Banishment. The Earl of Angus himself had his own Discontents, and thought him too careful to prefer and provide for his natural Sons, and not so careful of him as he should have been. Besides, these that were disobliged, he had professed Enemies that hunted for all the Advantages against him they could devise; at home the Castle Faction, Mr. John Maitland, Sir Robert Melvil, Pittadraw, and abroad in France, the Lord Seton, Farnihurst, Waughton, who was not very busy, the Bishops of Glasgow and Ross, Ambassadors and Agents for the Queen. These things, like Warts or Freckles in a beautiful Body, seemed to stain the Lustre of his Government; and though they may be thought but Weaknesses, yet they made Impression in the Minds of some, and in Time brought forth hard Effects, albeit in respect of his Place, Wisdom and Power, like

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus,

slow Poison, they were long ere they wrought effectually.

THE RE fell out a Business in the Year 1576, the 7th of July, which Men looked should have brought on War with England. Sir John Forrester, Warden of the middle March in England, and Sir John Carmichael Warden for Scotland, met for keeping of the Truce at a Place called the Red-Swire. There the Scottish Warden desired that one Farstein, an Englishman, who had been filed by a Bill of Goods stoln from Scotland, should be delivered, as the Custom was, to the Owner of the Goods, to be kept by him untill he were satisfied for them. The English Warden alledged that the Man was fled, and so he was not bound to answer for him or deliver him, but the Party endammaged might seek Redress of any that should be found to receive or harbour him in their Houses. Sir John Carmichael taking this not to be spoken in Sincerity, but for a Shift to frustrate Justice, urged the Matter more hardly, desiring him to deal plainly, without sparing any Man for Fear or Favour; but to regard only what was just and right. Sir John Forrester thinking himself taxed of Partiality, began to be angry, and, in a contemptuous Manner bad Carmichael match himself with his Equals, and not with him, who was above him both in Birth and Quality; and thereupon rose up from the Place, and walked a little away from thence. The English Borderers, chiefly they of Tindal, being all Bowmen, when they perceived their Warden displeased, glad of Occasion to trouble the Peace, sent a Flight of Arrows amongst the Scots, whereby they killed one, and wounded divers. The Scots, who looked for no such Thing, and were gone to their Pastimes, being scattered here and there, many of them fled

The Red-Swire,

at

at first. At length about twenty Persons taking Courage, and calling to the rest to stand to it, they joined, and charged the *English* so fiercely, that they slew divers of them, amongst whom was Sir *George Heron*, a worthy Gentleman, and well beloved of both the Countries, whom they would have been loath to hurt, if the Heat of the Conflict had not carried them to it unawares. Sir *John Forrester*, and the Gentlemen that were with him were taken Prisoners, and brought to the Regent. He entertained them honourably, but detained them as lawful Prisoners, and Breakers of the Peace, till the Queen of *England* sent for them. It was expected that this should have been an Occasion of War; but the Regent was not afraid of the Matter: He knew them and they him; he entertained Friendship with them after his wonted manner, and sent many *Scottish* Falcons for a Present to the Courtiers of *England*, whereof one made a Jest, saying, That he dealt very nobly and bountifully with the *English*, in that he gave them live Hawks for dead Herons, alluding to Sir *George Heron* who was slain. The Business came to a Treaty, and the Regent came in Person to *Foulden* in the *Merse*, where the *English* Commissioners met him. They agreed on these Terms, That the Goods should be restored, and for repairing the Queen's Honour, *Carmichael* should go to *London*, and come in the Queen's Will. He went as far as *York*, where being come the 26th of *September*, he was detained there five or six Weeks, and then dismissed. Concerning the Restitution of the Goods, the Regent caused make a Proclamation, by which he commanded all that were on this Side of *Forth*, to come to him at *Edinburgh* the 8th of *October*, with Provision of Victual for twenty Days, intending to go to the Borders. But he continued

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rained or adjourned the Diet till he should give
 new Advertisement; for the Borderers ceased
 from their stealing, and took Order for resto-
 ring what they had taken: Afterwards he held
 Justice-Courts at *Peebles* and *Edinburgh*, which
 was interpreted to be done, more for getting
 Money than doing of Justice. The Townsmen
 of *Edinburgh* were especially aimed at, and
 most carefully summoned; yet they were con-
 tinued and cast over to another Time; only
 they paid a thousand Merks *Scots* for Bulli-
 on, which the Merchants are bound to fur-
 nish to the Mint, but had neglected to do it.
 During the Time of his Regency, he met with
 one private Conspiracy, of which *John Semple*
 Son to the Lord *Semple* was Author, upon
 what Ground or Motive, I know not. It was
 revealed by one *Gabriel Semple*, who being
 confronted with *John* before the secret Coun-
 cil, avouched it, and offered to make it good
 by Combat: But it needed not, for *John* con-
 fessed it, and was thereupon condemned to be
 hanged, drawn and quartered: Yet when his
 Friends interceded for him, the Regent, not
 blood-thirsty, only sent him to the Castle there
 to remain during Pleasure, which not being
 declared, he was kept there during his Regency,
 after which he was set at Liberty. In the
 Year 1577, the 4th of *March*, the Nobility
 assembling at *Stirling*, concluded that the King
 should take the Government into his own
 Hands, and should be guided by a Council,
 and the Regent deposed. No Cause was gi-
 ven out, nor could there be any sufficient Rea-
 son pretended. The King was not yet 18
 Years of Age, which was the Time set down
 in the Act of the Queen's Demission for him
 to be governed by Regents. At most he was
 but 11 or 12 Years old. When these News
 were brought to the Regent at *Dalkeith*, be-
 ing

ing astonished therewith, he came to *Edinburgh*; but he got little Countenance from the Townsmen; few came from the Country, no Baron of Note, save *Wedderburn*, none of the Nobility, so far were they alienated from him. And indeed though they had intended to have come in to assist him, he gave them no Time to do it; for ere they could have come (as my Lord *Boyd* only did) he had demitted his Regency, and was so far from giving any Impediment to the Proclamation, that he assisted a single Officer with a Trumpet who came to proclaim the King's Authority, and publickly laying down his Office, he took Instruments of his Demission. The next Day, when the Lord *Boyd* came to him, he chid him soundly for this his Haste; and even he, when he had thought better on it, was angry with himself, that he should so rashly have given way to his Enemies, who used the King's bare Name against his Authority, which was to last five or six Years longer, and was established by the Laws of the Kingdom and Act of Parliament, unto which they themselves had consented and given their Approbation. Whether or not he did best in demitting, it may be disputed on both Sides. The adverse Party seemed strong, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Crawford*, yea also, which did most astonish him, his Friends, *Glamis*, *Ruthven* and *Lindsay*, his most cherished *Pitcairn* Abbot of *Dunfermline* Secretary, and *Tullibardine* Comptroller: He had the Ill-will of the Burrows, especially *Edinburgh*. And yet having Right, and the Law on his Side, some would have regarded that; the Multitude, so mutable, might have been reconciled, and the Faction dissolved (being glewed together by nothing but common Discontent) by contenting some, and putting some in hope of having Place in managing the Affairs of the King.

Morton demits his Regency.

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Kingdom Neither could Matter of Division have been long wanting amongst themselves, where there were so many Heads, such Diversity of Judgment, and so many several Aims and Intentions.

If he had but stuck to his Right, and in the mean time kept himself safe in *Dalkeith* or *Tantallon*, it is not improbable that he might have disappointed them. But he left that way, and having demitted the Authority, he rendered also the Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, the Mint and Coining-house, with the Printing-Irons, also the King's Jewels, and what else belonged to the Crown, was delivered to the Lords *Glamis* and *Maxwell*, who were sent from the King and his new Council to receive them. And good Reason, for now they were no more his, seeing he was no more Regent, having demitted the Authority, he could not retain them; yet he did not so with the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which the same two Lords had also Commission to receive. His Brother *George* of *Parkhead* was Captain of it, who not being well provided of Victuals before, he found that it was then too late to begin: For seeking to victual it both privately and openly, he was hindred by the Townsmen; whereupon ensued Blood-shedding and Slaughter. The Town had placed a Guard about the Butter-market, where the Weigh-house now stands, and the Constable of the Castle, *Archibald Douglas* Brother to *John* of *Tilliewhillie*, issuing forth, set upon the Guard before they were aware, and having killed two or three of them, retired to the Castle again. This did no good; it procured Hatred to himself, but purchased no Victuals to the Castle: Wherefore the Guard being more wary, he was so strained for want of Vivers, that he was forced to surrender it to

the Lord *Ruthven* and the Lord *Lindsay* the first of April 1578.

In the mean Time the Lord *Glamis* Chan- The Lord
cellor was slain at *Stirling*. There had been *Glamis* slain
some old Quarrel betwixt the Earl of *Craw* at *Stirling*,
ford and him; but now being both on the King's 17th March.
Side, they were upon Terms of Agreement. It
happened that as the one was going to the Castle
of *Stirling*, and the other coming from it, they
rencountred in a narrow Lane. Both of them
commanded their Followers and Train to give
way, which they did, and were now all passed
save two of their Servants that were last, who
having jussled one another, drew their Swords,
and flew to it. Hereupon both their Lords,
with their Companies turned, and began to
skirmish; where the Lord *Glamis* being a tall
Man of Stature, and higher than the rest, was
shot with a Pistol. It is uncertain who it was
that shot him, but many thought it was *Craw-*
ford himself, because he was very skilful in
shooting: Wherefore he was committed to
Prison, but was released again soon after, with-
out further Trial. Hereupon followed great
Enmity betwixt the two Families of *Crawford*
and *Glamis*. It was observed with Admira-
tion, that the News of this Slaughter, which
was committed about five o'Clock in the Af-
ternoon, was reported punctually and perfect-
ly at *Edinburgh* by six, there being 24 Miles
Distance between. It appears by this, that if
Morton had not laid down his Authority over
hastily, things might have fallen out to have di-
vided that Faction, which might have furnish-
ed him with Matter enough to have wrought
out his own Continuance therein.

BUT now having laid it down, he must play
the After-game as well as he may. There
were chosen to be of the King's Council, *Ar-*
gyle, *Athole*, *Montrose*, the Bishop of *Caith-*
ness,

ness, *Montrose's* Grand-uncle, the Abbots of *Dunfermline* and *Newbottle*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Lindsay* and *Ogilvy*. These coming to *Edinburgh*, he gives Place, and withdraws himself, not to *Dalkeith*, it was too near, neither to *Douglafs*, it was too far off, and out of the Way, nor to *Tantallon*, it was a Place of Strength, and it might have been interpreted Fear in him, but to *Lochlevin*, to his Cousin *William Douglas*, who was also a near Cousin to the Earl of *Mar*; that from thence, and by him he might deal with them who had the King's Person in Keeping, and find Means to turn about the Wheel again, and to overturn them who had turned him out of his Regency. There he busied himself in making of Walks and Alleys, in drawing of Garden-plots, little minding any State-affairs in Appearance; or, if any wary Wit did suspect any thing of him, or any well sighted *Argos* espied some Design (which was very hard for them to do) yet most Part saw nothing; and there were but few that suspected any thing, and none that could help or hinder it. For so he brought it, or so it came to pass, that *Alexander Erskine* (Brother to the late Earl) a Man of a good easy Nature, and no ill Disposition, and who, though of himself he was nothing factious, yet he had been an Instrument, whom the other Party (*Argyle*, *Ashole*, &c.) had used to turn *Morrison* out of his Regency, by admitting them unto the King, who was committed to his Charge as Captain of the Castle of *Stirling*, and Tutor to the young Earl of *Mar*, was himself almost after the same Manner turned out of his Charge of keeping the King and Castle: For as the King had been moved to take the Government upon himself before the time appointed, so the Earl of *Mar* was moved to take upon himself his own Charge

Charge of keeping the King and Castle of *Stirling* before his Time, being not yet of Age, nor Major. The Manner of it was this: One Morning the Earl got up betimes to go a hunting, and sending for the Keys of the Castle-gate, *Alexander* his Uncle came himself in Person; and having opened the Gate to let his Nephew forth, he himself and his Servants were thrust out at the Gate by the Earl, assisted by his own natural Brother and his Uncles the Abbots of *Cambuskenneth* and *Dryburgh*, very worthy, kind, upright and honest Gentlemen; and so he took the Keys and keeping of the King and Castle into his own Hands, not above seven Weeks after *Morton's* Demission of his Regency. Whether or not *Morton* employed *Tullibardine* in this Work, and gave him Money for it, he being Uncle to the Earl of *Mar*, I cannot affirm, though I know it was reported; neither indeed can I say confidently, that *Morton* plotted this Business, or what Hand he had in it, or whether it were nothing else but Division amongst themselves.

HOWEVER it were, by these Means the Designs of the new Counsellors were turned to nothing. They had, the 9th of *April*, chosen the Earl of *Athole* Chancellor, and indicted a Parliament to be held the 10th of *July*, and had consulted of many Articles to be concluded therein. Upon the News of this Change they go to *Stirling*, but the Castle was kept so close, that they were not suffered to come in, save one at once: There they had some Meetings in the Town, and afterwards returned to *Edinburgh*. *Morton* was come to *Dalkeith* a little before; wherefore they send to him, and desire to confer with him: He came to *Craigmillar*, and there spake with *Athole* and *Argyle*, and at last they agreed so well, that they went with him to *Dalkeith* to Dinner. On the

Morrow

Marion Pre-
sident of the
Council.

Parliament
in Stirling-
Castle.

Morrow Morton goes to *Stirling*, and was kindly received by the Earl of *Mar* into the Castle. The rest followed that same Day, so that the whole Nobility were assembled together the 10th of *July*. By their Advice the Council was changed, and Morton made President thereof. The Parliament by Proclamation was transferred to *Stirling*, there to be held the 23th Day of *July*, whither the Lords of Parliament were ordained to come with their ordinary Train. The other Lords, *Athole*, *Argyle*, *Montrose*, *Lindsay*, *Ogilvy*, *Maxwell*, *Harris*, and the former Council convened in *Edinburgh*, sent *Montrose* and *Lindsay* to excuse their Absence, and to give the Reason of it; because, as they alledged, the Parliament was not free, being kept within the Castle of *Stirling*, and both King, Castle and all in the Earl of *Mar*'s Power. Notwithstanding all this the Parliament held, wherein there were not many Things concluded. The chief Things were; A Discharge given to Morton, for his Government during the Time of his Regency; An Exoneration to the late Earl of *Mar*, who had been Regent, for his keeping of our Sovereign Lord's Person within the Castle of *Stirling*. The Lord *Hume* was also restored from his Forfeiture, by the Means and procuring of Sir *George Hume* of *Wedderburn*; with the Consent indeed of Morton, whom he solicited for that End; but against his Opinion and Advice: For he told him freely, that he thought it was not his best Course; for (says he) you never got any Good of that House, and if it were once taken out of the Way, you are next, and it may be you will get but small Thanks for your Pains. Sir *George* answered, That the Lord *Hume* was his Chief, and he could not see his House ruined: If they were unkind, that would be their own Fault; this he thought himself

himself bound to do: And for his own part, whatsoever their Carriage were to him, he would do his Duty to them; if his Chief should turn him out at the Fore-door, he would come in again at the Back-door. Well, (says Morton) if you be so minded, it shall be so, I can do no more but tell you my Opinion; and so consented to do it. Yet Sir George had so ordered the Matter, that he made no Question to have carried it without Morton's Consent by the Abbot of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, to whom he was allied by his Wife. Wherefore they are mistaken that say, Morton did all; for he was but accessory, and concurred as one of the chief Noblemen; but the House of Mar had the main Sway at this time. At this Parliament the Wardenry of the East March was taken from Coldinknows, and given to Sir George of Wedderburn. In August the other Lords (with whom were Coldinknows, Manderston, Cesford and Fawdunside) assembled their Forces, and having set forth a Declaration, that their Purpose was to set the King at Liberty, they marched from Edinburgh to Falkirk. Neither was Morton slow in gathering together his Friends at Stirling, with Resolution to have tried the Hazard of a Battle. The Earl of Angus went out divers times and skirmished with them, but there was no great Hurt done: Only in a single Combat, upon a Duel 'twixt Challenge, which was fought on Horseback with Lances, one Tait (a Tiviotdale Man that belonged to Cesford) was slain by James Johnston a Follower of Angus, he also being sore wounded. At last they came to an Agreement, and lest they should seem to have done nothing, they condescended that the King should be brought to Edinburgh, or elsewhere, as they pleased, by the Advice of the Nobility: Which served little for their Purpose; for there was

no

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30th September
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no time limited. And when he was brought to the Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, yet was *Mar* and *Morton* the chief Men about him, and had the greatest Credit with him.

BUT before that time it was concluded in Council, that the Lord *Aberbrothock*, and *Claude of Paisley* his Brother, should be pursued as Slayers of *Lennox* and *Murray*, late Regents: Which was done accordingly; but they themselves having fled into *England*, their Servants were taken, and some executed, others imprisoned, and their Lords Houses demolished. This Motion is thought to have proceeded chiefly from the House of *Mar* and *Lochevin*. We hear of no new Occasion given by them, for they remained Neutrals, and did not side with either Party at this time. *Morton's* part was, that he remained a Spectator, and was contented that Mens Minds should be taken up with some other thing, and not have leisure to think of him and his late Greatness; and that their Fury should be poured forth on somewhat else.

Athole dies
at *Stirling*.

WHILE they remained yet at *Stirling*, the Earl of *Athole* died suddenly; which was matter of much Talk, and gave occasion to *Morton's* Enemies to alledge that he had poisoned him: For all the Doctors did affirm that he was poisoned, save only Dr. *Preston*; but being desired to taste of it, and having only touched a little thereof with the Tip of his Tongue, it had almost cost him his Life, and he did never after fully recover. Wherefore seeing it was certainly Poison, who could give it him, said they, but *Morton*? And yet they could never tell how he could do it. For he was not in *Morton's* Lodging, nor *Morton* in his, as they do themselves confess: Neither were any that belonged to *Morton* in his House; and though they had been, they were neither Cooks nor Cup-bearers to him. So malicious

are

are impudent Detractors. Morton cleared himself of this Imputation at his Death; and yet there are some to this Day that are not ashamed to report it.

IN June 1579, upon the King's longing to be abroad, it was concluded in Council that he should go to *Edinburgh* the 25th of September next; but he came not till the 30th Day thereof. Morton and Mar were still with him as his chief Counsellors. They invited him to *Dalkeith*, where he remained a certain Space, and returned to the Abbey of *Holy-rood-house* the 16th of October. The Day following he made his Entry through the City of *Edinburgh* with great Solemnity and Pomp, with great Concourse and Applause of People, rejoicing to see him whom they loved heartily, as they testified by their Acclamations and Prayers poured forth for his Safety and Welfare. After this, on the 20th of October, he kept a Parliament, extant in the printed Acts.

The King comes to *Edinburgh*, and makes his Entry the 17th of October.

HITHERTO we have seen the Earl of Morton, though not an absolute Favourite of Fortune, yet so cherished by her, that howbeit she did now and then frown on him, yet she seemed rather to try his Strength, whether or not he were able to endure a Storm, and ride it out with Resolution, than that she meant to overwhelm him in her Waves; for the Issue did ever prove advantageous to him, and he became rather a Gainer than a Loser by his Sufferings. But now having raised him to the highest Dignity and Pitch of Greatness that a Subject was capable of, all of a sudden turning down that was up of her Wheel, she brings him so low as to lose Life and Estate. There is nothing more deserves our Observation, than these Vicissitudes, to see Men low made high, and then again falling from their Height and Greatness; which is to be seen in this last Act and

and Catastrophe of his Tragedy, so notably, as is rare to be found elsewhere. Who could and would truly discover the Depth of the Mysteries of these Times, and tell exactly who were the chief Plotters of this Work, and the Instruments and Executors thereof; as he should do a Piece of good Service to Posterity, so I do confess that it is too hard a Task for me to perform, and more than I will undertake to do. All that I can do is to set down the Actions which are evident in gross, and to follow such conjectural Probability in the Narration as my weak Judgment can lead me to. We have heard how the King and Queen's Factions did long contend, and how *Morton* had ever been on the King's side, and how in his Regency he had so handled Business, that they that stood for the Queen had yielded and acknowledged the King, and him as Regent. The keeping of the Castle of *Edinburgh* was the last Act of Opposition, and with the yielding of it all was hush'd. *Lethington* and *Grange* were taken out of the Way, who were the strongest Upholders thereof. Yet the Society was not quite broken or extinguished with them; Mr. *John Maitland* sometime Prior of *Coldingham*, and Brother to *Lethington*, Sir *Robert Melvil* Uncle to *Grange*, *Pittadraw*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and some others remained: These he had committed to Prison for a short while, afterwards had pardoned them, and set them at Liberty. They kept still their old Mind, entertained mutual Friendship and Correspondence, and wanted only Occasion to shew the Effects of their former Disposition; especially Mr. *John Maitland* and Sir *Robert Melvil*, bore great Hatred to *Morton*, the one for putting his Nephew *Grange* to death, the other because he supposed *Morton* would have done as much to his Brother, if he

The Beginning of
Morton's
Fall,

he had not prevented it by poisoning himself, as the common Rumour was. Besides these private Grudges, the publick Cause did also egg them on and animate them against him; which they never forgot, and looked upon him as the Man who had been the Bane thereof: Yet they set it on foot again, by commending it openly, and advancing it secretly and indirectly, using all the Means they could to make Things work for the Queen's Advantage. She had her Agents and Ambassadors in *France*, together with her Uncles of *Guise*, and wanted not her under-hand Favourers in *England* that still had their Eye upon her, whom they esteemed the Hope of their Religion. Their Suit now was both plausible and modest; to join the Mother and the Son in an Equality of Government, being so near joined in Nature: It could not but be for the Good of the Country, and make much to confirm and strengthen their Title to *England*. Thus they said; but how can this be done? He is in Possession of the Crown, how can it be taken from him again? How can he be desired to demit? And though he would demit, yet those of his Party will never be contented that he should do it. On the other side, she is living and dispossessed; but who that hath ever worn a Crown, can live and be content to want it? What other Mean then can be found out, but Association in the Crown? So shall both have it, and both be satisfied. A happy Society, from which will flow the Son's Love and the Mother's Blessing. All shall so go well, and it will be easy to persuade a Child unacquainted with such Things, especially one that is of so towardsly a Disposition: Only the Difficulty will be to move his old Friends thereto; they will never consent to it; they will be jealous of any Equality in ruling, though of never so near and dear Friends;

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they will choke us with that old Saying, *Nulla fides Regni sociis, &c.* The Grounds of his Title will seem to be brangled and overthrown; also his Estate will be made thereby more unsure and doubtful: The Match, though with a Mother, will be too hard for him; she is elder, and so wiser, and may soon step up from this Equality to a Superiority, by questioning her former Demission, by revoking and recalling of it, as being done in Prison, and so not voluntary. Thus shall the King be thrust out of his Place, the Country, Religion, and all quite undone.

MORTON was too old a Cat to draw such a Straw before him; wherefore their best was to make him away, that so the Plot might go on. And much more good Effect would come of that one Stroke: He was rich, he had fair Lands and Houses, a fair Reward of all their Pains and Travel. And no question, his Friends that should take his part might be involved and insnared with him; especially the Earl of Angus could hardly, in this Case of his Uncle, so behave himself, but Occasion might be found against him, which would be a fair Booty.

THE Facility of compassing a Business doth often draw Men on, and doth greatly prevail in all Consultations. The new Faction against him was very strong, yet he kept them down, but it was merely by the King's Countenance; if that were once taken away from him, the rest would prove easy. And now to facilitate all, there fell out such Occasions as they could have wished.

D' Aubigny comes home in September 1579. FOR Monsieur d'Aubigny was brought home; his Name, his Kindred, his Commission from his Friends in France, his Person, did procure him Credit with the King; and this Faction did privately insinuate with him, and openly thrust him forward into the King's Favour, and put him

him out of Conceit of *Morton*, and so by him the King, whose Ear he now had: For *Morton* being such an Adversary to the Queen, and so to *France*; *Aubigny*, to do the Queen and *France* Service, to please the holy League, himself being a Papist, and to gain the Good-will of the Faction, by whom he was to rise, was easily induced to promote their Plot. Neither was there great Difficulty in it; he had lost many Friends, offended all sorts of Men; the Burrows, the Ministry, and his Friends, so far as that if they were not his Enemies, they were but cold Friends.

THERE fell out also about this time an Accident, which did him much Hurt, and made for their Purpose. The Lord *Ruthven* having been in *Kincardine*, a House of the Earl of *Montrose*, at the Marriage of the Earl of *Mar*: As he returned to *Perth*, his Way lying near to *Duplin*, which belonged to the Lord *Oliphant*, and there being deadly Feud betwixt *Oliphant* and *Ruthven*; *Ruthven*, notwithstanding, rode that Way in view of *Duplin*: *Oliphant* took this as done in Contempt of him, and therefore issuing forth with some Horsemen, followed him, and came upon him so unexpectedly, that *Ruthven's* Men fled presently, and their Lord was forced to do the like; only one *Alexander Stewart* (of the House of *Traquair*, and a Kinsman of *Ruthven's*) staid behind the rest, partly to keep off the Pursuers, partly to speak with *Oliphant* in fair Terms, and was slain by a Shot from one that knew him not, sore against *Oliphant's* Mind, and to his great Grief. The Lord *Ruthven*, seeking by Order of Law to repair his Credit, and to be revenged for the killing of his Friend, causes summon *Oliphant* to answer criminally before the Justice-General. This *Oliphant* had married *Margaret Douglas* Daughter to *Wil-*

Controversy
betwixt the
Lords *Ruth-*
ven and *Oli-*
phant.

October 1580.

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus,

liam Douglas of Lochlevin, and now being pursued upon his Life, was assisted by his Father-in-law. The Earl of *Morton* would gladly have agreed the Parties; but the Fact being recent, and the Lord *Ruthven*, together with the Friends of the Gentleman that was slain, having received such an Affront, there was no possibility to take it away, save by Law. Wherefore *Morton* joined with the Party that was pursued for his Life, which hath ever been accounted most Noble, and free from Exception. Besides, *Oliphant* had not commanded his Servant to shoot, neither did he approve it in his Heart; but he thought he could not with his Honour deliver one who followed him, and had done this rash Fact in his Service, but was bound to protect him from all Danger, according to his Power. Notwithstanding this, *Ruthven* was mightily displeased with *Morton*, for countenancing *Oliphant* against him; and Mr. *John Maitland* and Sir *Robert Melvil*, who took part with *Ruthven*, blew the Bellows so, that they brought him to that length, that he could very well have been contented to see *Morton* reduced to such a Condition, as that he might need his Help, and be sensible of the Loss of so steadable a Friend.

WHEREFORE, when he understood that his Enemies were plotting against him, in regard he knew not they aimed at his Life, or that he thought he could give them a Stop when he pleased, he suffered them to go on.

THE Name of *Stewart* were also offended with him, for assisting one who was accused of the killing a *Stewart*; and all this was aggravated by those of the opposite Faction. Besides this, he had shewed himself not well pleased with the Favour Monsieur *d'Aubigny* was in with the King, because there was a general Suspicion that he was employed to pervert him
in

in his Religion. There was with *Aubigny* one *Monbirneau*, who was said to be concerned in the Massacre of *Paris*, extremely dissolute, and therefore much hated and abhorred of all Men, which did reflect upon *Aubigny* for his Familiarity with him. The Ministers preached openly against them both, and the *English* Ambassador, Sir *William Bowes*, desired *Monbirneau* to be removed out of the Council; and when it was refused, he likewise refused to deliver his Message, for so he had been commanded by the Queen of *England*. *Morton* withdrew himself as discontented, and retired to *Dalkeith*, either for Dislike of the present Estate of Things, or out of Fear of some Danger, or for both; neither did he come to Court, but when he was sent for by the King. This disliking of their Ways made them to dislike him the more. Dislike and Fear increased their Hatred, and hastened their Resolution to overthrow him. The Way was laid, which was to charge him with the Murder of the late King: The Accuser was *James Stewart*, Son to the Lord *Ochiltree*, a bold and aspiring young Man. And so the last of *December* he was sent for, and being set in Council, he was accused by *James* to his Face. The Crime was, of being Art and Part of the Murder of the late King *Henry*. Being greatly moved herewith, he arose from the Table, and purged himself with great Vehemence, as innocent thereof; and offered to abide a legal Trial, not only of his Peers, but of any Gentlemen whatsoever; though he himself were an Earl, and had been Regent. Hereupon he was confined to his Lodging, where he abode all the next Day, which was the 1st of *January* and the *Sabbath-day*. So much Leisure he had to bethink himself what were best for him to do; he might have seen it was a Quarrel pickt against him of Malice, seeing the Crime laid

Morton accused of the King's Murder.

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus,

Imprisoned
in the
Castle.

to his Charge was so hainous, as none but his mortal Enemies would have broached, and such as fought his utter Ruin; and he might know that Innocence is not always a sure Defence against such. On the other side, to avoid and shun a Trial, were half a Confession of the Crime, and would make him seem guilty; for he supposed that they could not convict him by Law, and that they would not proceed against him without Law, having, as he thought, Friends that would not suffer it, especially the Earl of *Angus*, being at Liberty, and out of their Power: But he had forgotten the old Maxim of his Predecessors, *That it was better to hear the Lark sing than the Mouse peep*; and their Proverb, *Loose and living*. On the 2d of *January* he had a Warrant sent to him to enter himself Prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which he obeyed immediately. As he went up the Street, accompanied with his own Domelticks, *James Stewart* his Accuser was coming down, and, as he passed by, he said to him in an insolent Manner, *Farewel, my Lord, go on*. His Servants would fain have made an End of the Accuser, but he would not suffer them, but held on his Way towards the Castle, and so entred there a Prisoner. This Obedience of his is liable to be diversly thought of, and is diversly censured by Men. They blame his Wisdom, that he should have relied so much on his Innocence, as to have put his Life into the Hands of his Enemies, who used the Colour of the King's Authority for their own private Ends, and to fulfil their own Malice. Others commend him, that being innocent, he obeyed the King, and submitted himself to the Laws. The Event gave Judgment for the first; yet it may be he did not rely merely on his Innocence, and that he thought the Nobility would never give way to such Extremity, which was
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an ill Precedent against themselves. But however God meant to humble him this Way; and therefore his Wisdom did now fail him; so that he was confounded in his Discourse and Reason. There can nothing else be said or alledged for this gross Error in so wise a Man.

THIS is the first evident Step of his falling. They might now do with him what they pleased, and yet not with Safety and Security. His Nephew the Earl of *Angus* was at Liberty, and remained at *Dalkeith*, who being sent for to come to Court, refused to come; yea tho' he was charged under Pain of Treason by a Herald to come to the King, yet he would not obey, but was declared Rebel. Also *Morton's* keeper, *Alexander Erskine* Master of *Mar*, being an honest and kind-hearted Nobleman, they could not use any Violence towards him, so long as he was in his Custody: Therefore they thought it best to send him to *Dumbar-* Morton sent to Dumbar-
ton; and that they might do it the more safely, they set forth Proclamations, discharging all Men that had any Relation to him, or that they suspected to favour him, to come within four Miles of any Place where the King was. So on the 17th or 18th of *January*, he was brought forth out of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to be carried to *Dumbarton*. There it did appear how the Change of Mens Fortune doth change the Minds and Affections of People towards them. When *Morton* demitted his Office and Authority of Regent, none of the Citizens would take notice of him: Now that he suffers for a good Cause, as they esteemed it, to wit, opposing *Aubigny* and his Courses, they accompany him out of the Town in such Numbers, that his Keepers were afraid of them. And that the rather, because some of his Well-wishers had, some Nights before, called the Captain of the Castle, and desired him not to

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deliver him, and had threatned, that if he should deliver him, it should be remembred as an Act of Hostility, and he reputed as an Enemy. They that were his Convoy were commanded, if any should come to rescue him, that they should kill him rather than suffer him to escape. The Queen of *England*, by her Ambassador Mr. *Randolf*, interceeded for him, and told the King and Council, that she understood that he was a true and good Subject, a worthy Nobleman, and free of what he was accused of. She desired that he might be tried by a Jury, and that his Enemy *Monsieur d'Aubigny* (now made Earl of *Lennox*) who was also an Enemy to the reformed Religion, might be removed off the Council. It was answered, That the King was not so far bound to any foreign Prince, as to change his Counsellors at their Request. The Ambassador, discontent with this Answer, gives up all Friendship; and having denounced War, returned into his own Country. Hereupon a Taxation was imposed, and a Company levied of a thousand Foot, and some Horsemen, to be a Guard for the King's Person. *James Stewart* the Accuser, was preferred to be a Privy Counsellor, and is made Baron of *Bethwellhaugh*, Lord *Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, and Captain of the Guard, with Commission to apprehend whomsoever he suspected, and to punish at his Pleasure; especially any, that favoured the Earl of *Morton*, of whatever Rank or Quality. But the *English* intended rather to threaten than to make War indeed; and they knowing that, went on with their intended Projects against *Morton*. He being still kept Prisoner in *Dumbarton*, learned a Lesson there, which he had not well learned till then. He now contemns the World, and his Riches are vile in his Eyes, his Glory Vanity, and all his Delights Mad-
ness.

27th March
1581.

ness. He finds that one thing is necessary, which is, to reverence God. He sees his Oversight, in that he had been so slack and careless thereof before; now he goes about it as he can, and labours to amend his Fault; he reads the Scriptures, and meditates on them; he finds Comfort therein; he sees his Sinfulness, and repents thereof; sees God's Mercifulness, and lays hold on it. He acknowledges himself to have been miserable when he seemed to swim in Happiness, and that now he was truly happy when he seemed overcharged with Misery; and now being sequestered from all worldly Affairs, his Mind had full Scope and Liberty to raise itself to those better and higher Thoughts of the Life to come, wherein he found such Contentment and Resolution, that now Death was no more terrible, and the Horror thereof was swallowed up with the Hope of those Joys which last for evermore. Thus being prepared for that last Act, he was sent for to give Proof how well he could make use of this Lesson: For on the 27th of May the Earls of Arran and Montrose, with some Companies of Horse and Foot, brought him from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, He is to Robert Gourlay's Lodging, which was one of the strongest in the City. Before they took their back to Edinburgh the Proclamation was made, commanding all that favoured him to depart out of the 27. of May. Town, and not to come within ten Miles of the King and his Court; and particularly fifty two Citizens by Name were expressed, and strictly charged to go out of the City. After four Days Respite, he was called to the Tol-booth, and there impannelled, and, by a Jury, found guilty of the late King's Murder. The Sentence was given out by the Earl of Montrose, who was Chancellor of the Assize; and it is said to have been pronounced in these

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus,

Terms, *The Jury doth find him guilty of being Art and part of concealing the Murder of our Sovereign the late King Henry.* When *Morton* heard it, he repeated these Words twice over, *Art and Part, Art and Part*, and, without speaking further, he held his Peace.

It is reported that the Jury did find him only guilty of concealing the Murder, and that *Arran* and *Montrose*, thinking that to be only guilty of concealing was not sufficient Matter of condemning him, did foist in these Words *Art and Part*, to make it be thought and understood, as if he had been found to be Art and Part, that is Partaker or Accessory to the King's Murder, whereas he was only found to have concealed it. This made one that heard it to say, That they had stoln his Head from his Shoulders by Sophistry. His known Enemies the Lord *Seton* and *Wauchton* were of his Jury, yet it is thought they did him no Wrong in their Verdicts. But however, it shewed partial Dealing, in that they would not suffer them to be set aside, when he excepted against them as known Enemies. Being asked at his Death what he thought of the Judgment, he answered soberly, That he would leave them to God and their own Conscience; but he perceived, that whether he had been guilty or guiltless, as *Stephen* or *Judas*, all had been one, his Death had been concluded before; for his legal Exceptions were not admitted, his Enemies were on his Jury (naming the two former) and such as were not indifferent, who had given partial Counsel against him, by Name the Earl of *Argyle*. He added also, That it was not his Death alone that would content them, and that they would not stay there, others should be put to it as well as he; he was made but a Precedent to make way for the rest; the Cause was the main thing they aimed

aimed at. However it be, he was conveyed back again to his Lodging as a condemned Man. There he carried himself after his wonted Manner; his Countenance was no ways cast down; he supped chearfully, and slept soundly, without any Appearance of Sollicitousness.

ABOUT three in the Morning he arose and wrote Letters for the Space of three Hours, with his own Hand to the King, and afterwards laid him down again and slept till nine. These Letters were sent by the Ministers who came to visit him, but *Arran* and *Lennox* would not suffer them to be received. When he was up, Mr. *Walter Balcanquhall* and *John Durie*; two of the Ministers of *Edinburgh* came to him, and had long Conference with him, which is set down at length in the History of *Scotland*, written by *Francis Boteville*, called *Thin*, an *Englishman*, and joined to *Hollinshed's Chronicle*; so that he who desires to know it, may read it there. The Sum of it is his Confession concerning such Things as they questioned him of:

1. AND first, concerning the murdering of the King, he said he was neither Art nor Part thereof, and that being prest by the Earl of *Bothwell*, he would never consent to it. And although (say the Notes) *Bothwell* alledged that the Queen had determined it, and divers Noblemen had given their Consent under their Hand-writing, and had sent to him to desire him to put to his Hand also; yet he answered resolutely, That he would in nowise meddle in it, nor be guilty of innocent Blood. As for the Queen, said he, though it be so, yet Women will say and gainsay; she may in her Anger do or say that which afterwards she will repent her of. Nay, when *Bothwell* promised to bring her Consent thereto under her Hand-writing, yet he refused to join with him upon any

His Confession before his Death.

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus,

Terms; and to avoid his Importunity, he passed over to *St. Andrews*, to visit the Earl of *Angus*, who was then a Student in the new College there; neither did he see or meet with *Bothwell* after that, until such Time as the Fact was committed.

2. As for poisoning the Earl of *Athole* at *Stirling*, he said he was neither Author of it, (if he were poisoned) nor any ways accessory or conscious of it; that he detested and abhorred all such Forms of dealing, even with Enemies, and was sorry to think that so base, foul, and wicked Practice should creep into this Country, which was already guilty of too many, too common other Sins of its own: He said also that he was not such an Enemy to *Athole*, as that he would have done him any Hurt, though he had found him lying asleep by the Way Side.

3. TOUCHING the Earl of *Lennox*, he said he never wished him any Hurt, so far was he from conspiring against him; only it grieved him that he knew the State of this Country no better, and that he saw not what Danger the King was in, and that he was induced by Perswasion to bring home such as were Enemies to the true Religion; which he purposed to have let him understand, and hoped to have advised him better, when they had been better acquainted; and more intimately familiar.

4. As for carrying the King to *England*, he said, he would not have done it for a World, unless it had been to have made him King of *England*; that there was never such a Motion made to him directly nor indirectly by the Queen, or any other in *England* or *Scotland*; that he never had any Pension of her.

5. As touching his setting up and maintaining the State of Bishops, about which there had
en-

ensued great Debate and Contention betwixt him and the Ministry, he said it did not proceed of any ill Mind, of any Malice or Contempt of them, or their Callings, but merely out of want of better Knowledge, thinking that Form of Government to be most conform to the Rules of Policy, and to be fittest for the Times; that if he had then known better, he would have done otherwise, and that he had Intention, if he had lived, to have made amends.

6. CONCERNING his Incontinency and worldly Mindedness, he freely acknowledged and confessed it, seriously repented, and craved God Pardon for it, and said, he firmly believed to obtain it: That he saw Mercy, and had found more Grace during the Time of his Trouble, than ever he had done all his Life before.

7. FOR his detaining of some Citizens of *Edinburgh* in Prison, he said, he had not done it out of any Spleen or private Quarrel against the Men; but the Matter of bringing in Bullion being then in hand; and he being informed that these Men did hinder it, he thought it his best Course to commit them till such time as the Business was done; wherein, if he had wronged them, he was sorry, and craved them Pardon and Forgiveness.

HIS Counsel to the Earl of *Angus* his Nephew was doubtful: For he said he durst not advise him in any Particular for the present, because he thought it would endanger his Life if he should come to Court; and not to come (if he were commanded) would hazard his Estate. His best were to use what Means he could to obtain the King's Favour and Leave, that, Life and Lands safe, he might serve God and him in a private retired Manner, which he would wish him to do in all Humility, and to sub-

Of Archibald *the ninth Earlof Angus*,
submit himself to the King's Will and Plea-
sure.

To the King, his Master, with all Submis-
sion, yet, in the Name and Fear of God, he
would exhort him to beware of Papists, either
profest, known or suspected, who, as he thought,
were become too, too familiar with him:
That he would continue in the true Religion,
and Fear of God, and entertain in his Com-
pany such as loved it, according as he had been
bred and brought up, and not to make De-
fection from it, or slide back, else it could
not be well with him: He feared there was
Danger, which Men should see when he was
gone. He remembred the Admonition which
Mr. Knox gave him when he came to visit
him on his Death-bed, or a little before, be-
ing newly made Regent: *God hath, said Knox,*
blessed you with many Blessings; he hath given
you Wisdom, Riches and Friends, and now he
hath preferred you to the Government of this
Country; use these things well, and better than
hitherto you have done; always to his Glory
who hath given them you; first by advancing
the Gospel, and Maintenance of the Ministers,
and the whole Church; next, by procuring the
Good and Welfare of the King, the Country,
and all good Subjects; which, if you do not,
God shall rob you of them with Shame and Ig-
nominy. This he spake, said he, and this I
find now, yet I doubt not but God will be
merciful to me.

HE was much with them in Prayer, and
very earnest to have their Aid and Assistance
therein, by which he acknowledged that he re-
ceived great Comfort. He reasoned of the na-
tural Fear of Death, which sticks and remains
in Men, even though they have Assurance of
the Forgiveness of their Sins; wherein he de-
clared his own Sense, and the Collections he
had.

had made in his Reading since his going to *Dumbarton*. He said, That in the History of the Bible, he had observed God's wonderful Mercy toward the Children of *Israel*, who when they sinned against him, he chastised them; when they repented he forgave them; and though they sinned again, and were corrected again; yet when they cried to him again, he forgave them again, he hoped so of himself, that God would forgive him also. He shewed them a Book he had about him, which had been sent to him by the Lady *Ormiston*, when he was first committed, which he had made good Use of : it was Mr. *Bradford's* Meditation on Death; he caused Mr. *Balcanquhall* to read a Passage or two of it, which he had chiefly noted, and as he read, *Morton* discoursed thereof to his own Comfort and their great Satisfaction. He professed, that now he heard with other Ears, and read with another Mind and Sense than he had done in former times. This Book he sent back to the Lady by Mr. *James Lowson*, with many Thanks, acknowledging he had been better'd by it. When Breakfast was brought in, he desired them to take Part with him, and spake chearfully to them, telling them what a Difference there was betwixt a Man troubled with Cares, and him that is resolved and free from them. *The last Night*, said he, *before I came to my Trial; I could not sleep nor take my Rest for thinking how to make my Defences; but all this Night I slept very sound, having nothing to trouble me, but to make my Peace with God.* Afternoon Mr. *James Lowson*, Mr. *John Davidson*, and divers others of the Ministers came to him. There he embraced Mr. *John Davidson*, and said to him, You wrote a Book, for which I was angry with you, but I never meant any Ill to you, forgive me. Mr. *Davidson* was
sq.

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus,

so moved herewith, that he could not refrain from weeping. Then he repeated again before them the same things which we have set down before. The Ministry hearing that the King was otherwise informed of his Confession than was true, sent *John Dury*, *David Ferguson* and *John Brand* to his Majesty, who informed him rightly, and related things as they were.

THEY being returned his Keeper *William Stewart*, as I take it, Brother to *Arran*, required him to come forth to go to the Place of Execution; to whom he said, *They have troubled me much to Day with worldly Business, wherefore I supposed they would have given me this Nights Leisure to have thought of things which concern my Soul* : But his Keeper replied, *I think they will delay no longer, for all Things are ready. If it be so*, said *Morton*, *so am I too, I thank my God*. And so, after a Prayer made by one of the Ministers, he went down the Stairs without further Stay. The Earl of *Arran* met him by the Way, and brought him back to the Chamber again, willing him to stay till his Confession were set down in Writing, that he might sign it with his own Hand. But he, and the Ministers that were present with him, entreated that he might not be any more troubled with that Matter, seeing they had all heard it sufficiently. Then *Arran* desired that he would forgive him for what he had done, seeing he had no Particular against him. He answered, That it was not Time to remember Quarrels; he forgave him and all others, as he desired they would forgive him.

Morton So he went to the Scaffold very resolutely, brought to and repeated the same things in Audience of the Scaffold. the People which he had spoken before in private. He added moreover, " The King, says he

“ he, shall this Day lose a good Servant, who
 “ dieth professing the Gospel taught now in
 “ Scotland; and though I have not walked
 “ worthy of that Profession (as by the Grace
 “ of God I should have done, if I had lived
 “ longer, to the hazarding of my Life, Lands,
 “ and all) yet am I perswaded of GOD’s
 “ Mercy in Jesus Christ. And here I charge
 “ you all to continue therein, and to main-
 “ tain the same to the uttermost of your
 “ Power, and God shall bless you; other-
 “ wise you shall not escape his Punishment.”

Then while Mr. *James Lowson* prayed, he fell down flat on his Face, during which he uttered great Signs of being mightily moved, which he expressed by Sighs and Groans, which many of the Beholders saw evidently did not proceed from Fear, but from the Spirit of Grace working powerfully in his Heart. Prayer being ended, he stood up, and his Friends came to take their Leave of him; and after he had bidden them farewell he saluted the Ministers, and took them all severally by the Hand, and bade them farewell in the Lord.

AFTER all was done, he went without His Death. Fear, and laid his Neck upon the Block, crying continually, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*, till the Ax of the Maiden (which he himself had caused make after the Pattern which he had seen in *Halifax* in *Yorkshire*) falling upon his Neck, put an End to his Life, and that Note together. His Body was carried to the Tolbooth, and buried secretly in the Night in the *Grayfriars*. His Head was affixed on the Gate of the City.

THUS he died the 2d of *June 1581*. proudly, said his Enemies, and *Roman-like* as he had lived; constantly, humbly and *Christian-like*, said the Pastors, who were Beholders, and Ear
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Of Archibald *the ninth Earl of Angus,*

and Eye-witnesses of all he said and did. These outward Motions being so like the other, are hardly discerned but by a skilful and impartial Eye. Wherefore the Judgment and Testimony of the Pastors deserves best Credit; they being best able to distinguish Nature from Grace, and being freest from Prejudice and Partiality. His Enemies Censure may justly be suspected, as coming from that same Disposition which moved them to plot and work his Death. And certainly, if we observe and consider his whole Carriage and Discourse during the Time of his Imprisonment, and at the very Point of his Execution, he must be void of all Charity that doth not judge the best of his Confession and Christian Disposition. So that it seems to be more than human Hatred to be thus affected towards an Enemy after his Death, to kill him again by an uncharitable Construction of his Devotions and Piety towards God. *Livor post fata quiescit.* Envy ceaseth after Death, and so let it do towards him. If a Man would see a Pattern of one exercised in all the Changes and Vicissitudes of Fortune, who had gone through and tried all the Estates and Conditions of human Life; let him cast his Eyes upon our Earl of *Morton*, in his Childhood, in his riper Years, and in his old Age, in Peace and in War, in private and publick Employments, in every thing he took in hand, in every Estate and Condition, he acquitted himself with Credit, Honour, and even Admiration. When he was a serving Man, he was industrious, careful and faithful; when he came to an Estate, and was a Nobleman, he behaved himself as if he had been bred such from his Infancy. In Court, he acted the Courtier, in Council a Statesman, abroad in *England*, being sent thither Ambassador, he approved himself to both Nations, and gained

ed great Reputation of Sufficiency. While he enjoyed the Favour of his Princess, he was not puffed up; and being in Disgrace and banished, he was not cast down. He was a faithful Colleague and Fellow-Governor with others; and when he came to be sole and supreme, this Country never enjoyed greater Peace, and a more flourishing Regency. Being returned to the Condition of a private Nobleman, he obeyed as well as before he had commanded. And last of all, when he was accused, condemned and executed, he shewed himself to be himself, and a good Christian. He was well skilled, as in politick Government, so in Oeconomy, from the Shrub to the Scepter, from planting of Cabbage in his Garden, to the wielding of the Sword and Scepter in the Seat of Justice. The smallest and meanest Points of Husbandry did not escape him, and the highest and deepest Points of State were not above his Reach; so that the Saying of the Historian concerning *Cato Major*, *In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingenique fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur*, is no less true, and may as well be applied to *Morton*: And that also which follows, *Nulla ars neque privata, neque publica rei gerenda ei defuit, urbanas, rusticasque res pariter callebat*. He was slow of Speech, by a natural Stayedness and composed Gravity. He was of a middle Stature, rather square than tall, having the Hair of his Head and Beard of a yellowish flaxen. His Face was full and large, his Countenance majestick, grave and princely; he was affable and courteous to all, yet so as to keep bold Encroachers aloof, and familiar, so as not to forget to keep his Distance. He was given to gather Riches, yet without Oppression or Sordidness: For he was liberal upon Occasion,
and

and not unmindful of his Friends. Of which Disposition I remember this Instance; when *John Haldane* of *Gleneagles*, with his Friends of the House of *Mar*, especially the Abbot of *Dryburgh*, came to him to agree with him for his Wardship, he being Regent, told them that he had bestowed it on *Isabell Hume* Daughter to Sir *David*, and Sister to Sir *George Hume* of *Wedderburn*, and that he might take her and it together, which he did accordingly. This came merely of himself, having never been spoken to, and when there was none that belonged to the Gentlewoman near him, to suggest it to him. He was also calm, and not easily moved to Anger, and apt to forget and forgive Injuries, that had been betwixt him and any other. This appeared in his Carriage towards Mr. *Knox*, who had used him roughly, and rebuked him sharply for divers things, but especially for his labouring to set up and maintain the Estate of Bishops. For howsoever he took it hardly for the Time, yet when Mr. *Knox* lay a-dying, he went and visited him, and after he was dead, was present at his Burial, where he gave him this honourable and ingenuous Testimony, *Here liest thou, said he, who wert never afraid of the Face of Man in delivering thy Message from GOD.* He set a-foot a great good Work, and would no question have seen it perfected, if he had brooked his Regency a while longer, which was the reducing of our Laws into a more easy Form and Method than now they are. The Care of this was committed to Sir *James Balfour* and Mr. *John Skeen*, Clerk Register, and Master of the Rolls. The Work, as I am informed, was well advanced, but when he quit his Authority, they left off any further Proceeding in it. And I have heard since some question it, whether or not it would have done good to the

the Subjects, as if it were to be doubted whether it were better to have some Order than none at all. So apt are Men to calumniate any thing that hinders their particular Emolument, and curbs them from doing what they list. He kept a Concubine or two, because of his Lady's being frantick, and was even too much set to heap up Treasure; yet his Care was that his Enemies should not be enriched by it, and his Luck was answerable to his Care: For those on whom he would have bestowed them, if he had had Power and Opportunity to distribute them according to his Mind, by good Fortune lighted on it; I know not if they got all of it, or if it were divided according to that Proportion which he perhaps would have observed. *James Richardson* of *Smeaton*, his Brother-in-law, got a Share of them, having been trusted with the keeping thereof; *Janet Sharp* his Leman another Share, *James Douglas* of *Spot* got some Part thereof; and some very small Portion, as is thought in respect of the whole Sum, came to the Hands of *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*, after his Return from his first Banishment. A notable Example of the Uncertainty of corruptible Riches, and worldly treasure, which cannot be preserved from the digging through of the Thief, the eating and consuming of the Moth, or the scattering of an unfaithful Hand. Tho' he employed himself much about it, and thought it a great Point of Wisdom thus to store up Wealth; yet at his Death he saw and confessed it to be but Vanity.

If we admit *Morton* to be a Judge or Witness, and what better either Judge or Witness can we find? he will decide the Question betwixt the two Parties, which do challenge each to himself, and derogates from the other, that high Honour and Title of Wisdom; I mean betwixt

286 *Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus,*

betwixt him that seeks after worldly Honour, Dignity and Riches, and him that, having his Mind raised higher, and pitched upon better Things, slights these earthly Things as Trash, not worthy of his Care. The Wordling calls, and thinks him a Fool, and he esteems no better of the Wordling; and each laughs the other to Scorn. Who then shall be Judge or Witness, seeing all are Parties, and there is no Man but is either of the one Side or the other? Certainly we may judge best by the Confession of the Parties themselves; of which the last never yielded, never gainsaid or belied their Assertion; while they live they avouch it, and at their Death they do confirm it much more. Though *Chrysippus* Tormenter do torture them, though the World, for the Want of it, do afflict them with Contempt, still they stand fast, and stick to their Point unshaken and unmoved. The Worldlings, on the contrary, sometimes while they flourish in Prosperity, ever when they are in Adversity: Sometimes while they live and are in Health, ever when they ly a-dying, confess against themselves, and call all their Labour and Pains about it Folly and Vanity. So did *Morton* amongst others, which the Wise will lay to Heart, and make their Use of it.

Jacobus Duglasius, *Mortonius Comes*, *Prorox*
pro *JACOBO VI*. *Edinburgi securi percussus*, anno 1581.

Hunc specta Heroem, celso cui spirat ab ore
Majestas, toto & pectore rarus honos.
Augustos inter, terrarum lumina, reges,
Pro Rege, & Domino, regia sceptrata tulit.
Consilium, imperium, virtus, facundia, census,
Quaque homines capiunt, quaque dedere dii,
Unus cuncta fuit. Nihil ad fastigia summa
De.

Of Archibald the third of that Name, &c. 287

*Defuit, aeternum si sua fata darent.
Sed viden' ut subito fatorum turbine versa
Omnia, & in praeceps pondere pressa suo?
Discite mortales mortalia temnere, & illa
Quarere, qua miseris non rapit aura levis.*

James Douglas Earl of Morton, Regent, Be-
headed at Edinburgh, 1581.

Behold this Hero how his Looks be grac'd
With Majesty, what Honour's in his Breast!
How high his Port may to the World appear!
He rules a King, and doth his Scepter bear.
Counsel, commanding, and perswasive Art,
Whatever Men enjoy or Gods impart,
Is found in him: If Fortune did remain
Constant, no greater Height he need obtain.
But ah! what sudden Change is here! this State
Faln with its own Weight, lies oppress'd by Fate.
Observe it well, and learn those Goods to prize,
Which never can decay; the rest despise.

Of Archibald, the third of that Name,
and ninth Earl of Angus.

NOW we come to *Archibald* himself, the
third bearing the Name of *Archibald*,
Son to *David*, as hath been said.

He was thrice married, first to *Margaret Erskine* Daughter to *John* Earl of *Mar*, who was Regent of *Scotland* immediately before *Morton*. She was a beautiful, chaste, and virtuous Lady; She lived with him but few Years, and died without Children.

AFTER her he was married to *Margaret Lesly*, Daughter to the Earl of *Roths*. She lived with him the Space of Years, after which
he

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

he was divorced from her for her Adultery. She had likewise no Children.

His third Wife was *Jean Lyon*, Daughter to the Lord *Glamis* Chancellor, and Relict of *Robert Douglas of Lochleven*. She bare to him a Daughter after his Decease, named *Margaret*, who died about the Age of fifteen Years, a Maid, unmarried.

His Education.

HE was bred and brought up with his Uncle *Morton*, as we have said, who was his Tutor and Guardian. He studied in *St. Andrews* in the new College, with Mr. *John Douglas* Provost of that College, and Rector of the University, till he was fifteen Years of Age. After that, he lived at Court with his Uncle, having with him his Pedagogue Mr. *John Provain*, who endeavoured to instruct him in the *Latin* Tongue, and taught him Logick and Rhetorick, but with such Success as is customary to Youth and Nobility; Nature, Counsel and Example drawing them rather to the Exercises of the Body, which are more agreeable to their Inclination, and are esteemed more fit and proper for their Place: Whereas Letters are thought only necessary and useful for mean Men, who intend to live by them, and make Profession of some Art or Science for their Maintenance, but no ways either suitable or requisite in Noblemen, and such as are of an eminent Rank or Degree. For these they are judged to be too base, and he that affects them pedantick. Nay, most Men do account the Study and Knowledge of them prejudicial, and no small Impediment to politick Activeness, and that it doth abate the Vigour of the Mind, which is requisite for their Calling of being Statesmen and Warriours. A perverse and pernicious Tenet, and far contrary to the Practice of the most famous Captains and Princes in all Ages, such as were

Ju.

Julius Caesar, Scipio Africanus, Alexander the Great, and Pompey called the Great also; of Trajan, Antoninus, Charlemaign, and almost all the Grecian Worthies. And yet we hear that the Nobility, in France especially, account it a Reproach to be esteemed learned, and deem it honourable to be ignorant.

MUCH good may this honourable Ignorance do them, ere any wise Man envy it. As for the Earl of *Angus*, sore did he repent of this Neglect; especially in the Time of his last Banishment, during which he laboured to have repaired that Oversight of his Youth, by reading and hearing read *Latin* Authors of all Sorts, both Historians and others; chiefly *Ju- nius* and *Tremellius* Translation of the Scripture, which he took great Pleasure in: And though the Defect of Practice in his Youth could not be altogether supplied, yet such was his natural Judgment, that in expressing of his Mind either by Word or Writ, none could do it more judiciously; and in dictating of Letters, or any other thing, he even equalled, if not overmatched those who would challenge to be the most skillful therein. This was well known, and ingenuously acknowledged by Chancellor *Maitland*, of honourable Memory, who having lighted upon some Letters of his, written with his own Hand, so well conceived, that some who heard them read, supposed they had not been his penning, but that he had only transcribed them, that they might seem to be his own; he, on the contrary affirmed, and it was true, that they were of his penning, and that he did seldom use any Man's Help that Way, being himself very sufficient.

CONCERNING his Actions in the Time of his Uncle's Regency, we have spoken of them in his Life, as the fittest Place for them

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

He flies in-
to England.

to be remembred in, and we need not repeat them here. After his Death, finding no sure Footing in *Scotland*, amongst those who were Authors of it, and would seek to secure themselves from all Revenge, by making him away in like Manner, being commanded by the King, and summoned in his Name to come to Court, he retired into *England*. There he was kindly received, and honourably entertained by the Liberality of Queen *Elizabeth*, partly in Memory of his Uncle, but no less for his own Sake, being of so great Hope and Expectation, conceived by the Appearance of his present Virtues, his Wisdom, Discretion and Towardliness, which made him acceptable to all, and begot Love and Favour both from her Majesty, and her Counsellors that then guided the State, such as Sir *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary; and more especially he procured the liking of him who is ever to be remembred with Honour, Sir *Philip Sidney* I mean; like Disposition, in Courtesy of Nature, and Equality of Age, did so knit their Hearts together, that Sir *Philip* failed not, as often as his Affairs would permit him, to visit him, in so much that he did scarce suffer any one Day to slip, whereof he did not spend the most Part in his Company. He was then in Travel, or had brought forth rather (though not polished and refined as now it is) his so beautiful and universally accepted Birth, his *Arcadia*. He delighted much to impart it to *Angus*, and *Angus* took as much Pleasure to be Partaker thereof.

THERE were with him at this Time in *England* of the Name of *Douglas*, *James* Lord *Torthorrel*, and Sir *George* his Brother, two Sons of *Morton's*, *James* of *Spot*, and *Archibald* of *Pittendrich*; Also *James* of *Mains*,
and

and Sir George of Langniddery. There were besides these, of Note, only John Carmichael and his Sons, together with Hugh Carmichael; the rest were but his ordinary Servants and Dependents.

He resided openly at Court, being no Rebel, and not convicted or guilty of any Crime against his Prince or Country. No such thing was laid to his Charge by his Enemies, otherwise the entertaining of him had been a Breach of the Peace betwixt the Kingdoms. All that could be alledged was, that he had withdrawn himself from the Fury of his Enemies: And yet, as if he had been a Rebel and forfeited, they intromitted with his Rents and Estate for their own Use. He spent his Time there in learning to ride great Horses, and handling of his Arms, together with using such courtly and manly Exercises as became his Age and Place. But above all, he was careful to observe the Government of the Country, and Policy of that State and Kingdom; making his own Use thereof for his bettering, both in Christianity and civil Prudence. He looked with an heedful Eye upon Mens Wisdom, and through that, upon God's working by their Wisdom; he noted the Actions of those who were the Guiders of that State, Court and Country, saw their Aims and Designs; and comparing them with his own Affairs, and things fallen out at Home, he called to mind what had befallen his Uncle Morton; who, like them, had no less flourished, but was soon cut down and withered: Who had been so powerful and honoured but a little before, yet in a Moment, as it were, was overthrown and trod under Foot. His Thoughts also reflecting upon himself, and his own Condition, how he was forced to forsake his own Country, and depend upon the Estimation of Stran-

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

gers; that though for the present he was somewhat respected, yet it was uncertain how long he should be so, no longer than they should think it profitable for their own Estate, and conducive for their Ends. From hence raising his Mind to the Contemplation of all humane Affairs, and of Men of all Degrees, even of Princes themselves, he learned that, which few will, and care to learn of any Rank, and fewer do practise that are in high Places, whose Places crave Action, and Action over-treads Contemplation; he learned, I say, truly to condemn all worldly things, such as Riches, Honour, Dignities, and the like; and truly to seek after heavenly Treasure, which perisheth not, and bringeth with it no Anxiety or Sollicitude of Mind, having the Soul fully set and fixed on God alone. Many speak of it, and that very well, and not without some Sense and Feeling thereof, but it lasts not, save for a Fit, and sudden Flash. We are all of us too earthly, and savour too much of Earth, from whence we were taken, thither also we bend, and tend ever downward, what through our natural Propension that Way, what by Example of the Multitude, which, like a violent Stream of an over-bearing Flood, carries us along, if we be not firmly built upon the Rock of heavenly Resolution, and unless we keep fast our Hold by perpetual and never intermitted Meditation. For him I dare avouch it, that howsoever he refrained from outward Shows, for fear of falling into Ostentation, or whatever other ways he was employed about in regard of his Place and Calling, yet his Mind was ever, even in the midst of Business, wholly bent to God-ward, and would have been glad to have been freed from all Thoughts and Affairs which had any Mixture of earthly things. And this Disposition, wrought
in

in him by his being exiled, he esteemed no small Benefit and Advantage of his Sufferings; so that in private, where he expressed himself freely, without all Mask of Ceremony; he hath many times been heard to thank God very heartily, with grave Words and settled Countenance, saying, *That he would not have exchanged the Cross of his first Banishment for all the Crowns and Princes Estates in the World, far less for an Earldom or Lordship, such as Angus or Douglas.* So did God work with him by Adversity.

WHILE he was thus working upon himself in *England*, and framing his Heart after a new Mould and Fashion, which few knew or dreamed of, God was preparing the Way for his Return to his Place and Honours in *Scotland*. The Love which his Countrymen bore to him was great, and likewise almost universal, as it did commonly follow that popular Name of *Douglas*, to which it was in a manner hereditary, even in regard of his own courteous, mild and towardly Disposition, and of the great Hopes and Expectation of excellent Fruit from so noble and worthy a Plant. This being accompanied with his Suffering and Innocence, together with his harmless Youth, did move Pity, and stir the Affections of most Men towards him.

As for particular Friends, he wanted them not, as few Noblemen in this Country do, all the Nobility being linked and bound one to another by Kindred or Alliance, his House having been so eminent of a long Time; and there being few of the Nobles but were either descended of it, or tied to it by some Consanguinity or Relation: And therefore one would think it strange that he should have been so long banished; yet when we look upon his Uncle *Morton's* Case, who had the same Friends

or more, it is far more strange that he should have come to such an End. But as in this, when the appointed Time came, nothing could hinder his Fall and Overthrow: So in *Angus's* Case, until the Time appointed by God came, nothing could work his Restitution. What the Estate of Business was at his Departure, we have told already in *Morton's* Life, ere that Year came fully to an End, or not long after he had been a Year in *England*, there fell out a Change at Court, which was thus:

Change in
Court.

Esme Lord Aubigny (now Duke of *Lennox*) and *James Stewart* Earl of *Arran*, had, with their great Riches and Honours, acquired much Hatred from all sorts of Men. The Ministry were offended at them for making Mr. *Robert Montgomery* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, an Office then odious and unlawful, as being against the Laws of the Country, and Ordinance of the Church, and were jealous of the one as a suspected Papist, and perswaded that the other, to wit *Arran*, was a downright Atheist. The Nobility stormed and grudged at their extraordinary and sudden Preferment. For *James* was made Lord *Hamilton*, *Abercorn*, *Boswellhaugh*, and Earl of *Arran*, with a Power almost absolute (given or usurped, under the Name of Captain of the Guard, and the Pretext of pursuing the *Douglases*) to apprehend, imprison, and put on the Rack whomsoever he pleased, *Aubigny* was made Lord of *Dalkeith*, *Tantallon*, *Darlin*, *Torbouton*, and Duke of *Lennox*, Keeper of the Castle of *Dumbar-ton*, and great Chamberlain of *Scotland*.

THUS did they overtop and overshadow the rest of the Peers, as tall Cedars do small Shrubs, to their great Discontentment. The Gentlemen were so used by them, that they esteemed themselves brought into a Thraldom and Slavery, none of them being sure of their Estates,

states, which were wrung from them by Colour of Law, the Cloak of their Oppression, and all fearing the Rage and unlimited Violence, especially of *James Stewart*, who was composed of nothing else, and whose Actions were suitable to his Disposition.

THE Burrows were alienated, by being cut short in their Privileges and Immunities, which were retrenched, and taken away, according to their Humours of Avarice, and according to the Suggestions of their Informers.

WITH this their exorbitant Increase of Power and Insolence, as the Hatred of others did increase towards them, so did Variance arise betwixt themselves. The first Occasion hereof was the carrying of the Crown at Parliament: This was proper, and is the hereditary Right and Privilege of the House of *Angus*; and he being now banished, and the Duke of *Lennox* having his Estate, either on that Account, or because of his more honourable Descent, or by the Advantage of the King's Favour, which he had in greater Measure than *Arran*, we cannot affirm; but so it was, that he was preferred to bear it. *Arran* stormed at this, and protested that his bearing of it at this time should not be prejudicial to his Claim, who being descended of the House of Duke *Murdoch*, which was nearest to the King, ought in Reason to have carried it; yet he renounced all Title to the Kingdom, notwithstanding of this Extraction of his Pedegree, and challenging of this Honour. This Renunciation was derided by some, and disdained by others, as a high Presumption in him, who being but lately raised from so mean an Estate, durst utter Speeches that bewrayed such vast Thoughts, as to aim at no less than the Kingdom, if ever, (the King's own Race failing) the Right there-
to should happen to be controverted. And in-
deed

deed his Designs are thought to have flown to no lower Pitch, which perhaps had been no very hard Task for him, if he could as well have kept out the *Hamiltons* (who could only pretend Right to it) and the *Douglases*, whose Power and Authority was the greatest in the Country, as he found Means to cast them out of Court and Country: For then he had had no Competitor but the Duke of *Lennox*, and him, being a Stranger, and subsisting merely by the present King's Favour, he nothing doubted to supplant by Craft and Violence, joined with such a colourable Claim. Another Occasion of Discord fell out by Sir *John Seton*, Son to the Lord *Seton*, and Master of the King's Horses. As the King was about to go to his Horse to ride a-hunting, *Arran* having something to speak to him in private, all Men were commanded to remove, which all did saving Sir *John*, who being by his Place to wait upon the King, and let him on his Horse, staid still, and did not remove with the rest. *Arran* seeing him to stay behind the rest, either threatned to throw his Batton at him, or did throw it indeed; for he carried a Staff or Batton as Captain of the Guard. Sir *John* would have requitted this Affront, but was hindred by the Guard, who carried him down Stairs, and so they parted for that Time. The next Day Sir *John*, his Brother Sir *William*, and the Lord *Seton* himself, were all commanded to keep their Lodgings, which the Duke, who favoured them, took so ill, that he refused to come abroad that Day. At last they were so divided, that the Duke carried the King with him to *Dalkeith*, and *Arran* abode in the Palace of *Holy-rood-house*. There were with the Duke, the Lord *Seton*, *Maxwell*, then Earl of *Morton*, with some others; *Argyle*, *Ruthven*, (then Treasurer, and lately made Earl of *Gow-*
(ry

ry) the Secretary, the Comptroller, and other Officers of State, staid with *Arran*, and took upon them to make the Body of the King's Council, and to sit as such: But all their Decrees and Conclusions were dashed by the King in Person, which they wanted.

THESE Broils lasted from the End of *October* till the middle of *February*, about which Time the King returning to *Holy-rood-house*, from whence *Arran* had removed before, and from thence going back again to *Dalkeith*, he sent for him, and reconciled him to the Duke, after which they became greater Friends than ever they had been before: So that *Arran* would do nothing for any Man but what he knew stood with the Duke's good liking. But this Union betwixt themselves divided them the more from others, and others from both of them; for now he that had any Business with either, behoved to sue to both, and he that disliked, or bore Ill-will to either, was forced to fawn on him also, or to hate both, and seek the Overthrow of them both alike.

Justice-
At the Justice-Eyres in *Perth*, *July* 1582, in some Eyres in
Contest betwixt the Duke and the Earl of *Perth* 1582.
Gowry, the Duke spake some reproachful Words to him in *French*, which *Gowry* not understanding then, afterwards, when he had learned what the Meaning of them were, he upbraided the Duke with Ungratefulness, telling him, That was all the Thanks he got for having twice saved him from being killed. Thus was he alienated, or thus did he bewray his Alienation of Mind, which lay hidden, till now it burst forth. Another Time the Chamberlain-Eyres being indicted to be kept the 28th of *August* by the Duke; then Chamberlain, which was a Court very odious to the Burrows, as being rather a legal Robbery, than a Court of Justice, and upon which it is thought he

The Road
of Ruthven.
1582.

was set of Purpose, that he might incur more Hatred, which commonly falls out, when a former general Dislike doth meet with private Grudges. This Court, I say, being indicted, while the Duke was busied in preparing for it, and he, with *Arran*, having left the King, were at *Edinburgh* and *Dalkeith*, about such Things as were necessary thereto: the 24th of *August* the King came from his Hunting in *Athole* to *Ruthven*, where *Gowry*, assisted by some of the Nobility, removed the Guard that were under the Command of *Arran*, with no great ado, and laid hold also of the Earl himself, as he entred into the House of *Ruthven*, and conveyed him into a close Room, where he was kept, and not suffered to come near the King.

HE had, upon the first surmising of an Alteration, come from *Edinburgh* with a Company of about fourscore Horse; but hearing that the Earl of *Mar* was at *Kinross* in his Way, he sent his Company with his Brothers, *Robert* and *Henry*, and he himself, with one or two, taking a By-way, came to have slipt into the King's Presence, before they had been aware of him. But *Gowry* being advertised hereof, met him at the Gate, and had straightways killed him, if *George Auchinleck*, sometime Servant to *Morton*, had not held his Hand as he was about to have pulled out his Dagger to have stabbed him. His two Brothers with their Company, were defeated by the Earl of *Mar*, of which *Robert* was wounded also, and taken Prisoner.

THERE joined with *Mar* and *Ruthven* openly *Thomas Lyon* Master of *Glamis*, *Lawrence* Lord *Oliphant*, together with Sir *Lewis Ballantine* of *Auchnoule* Justice-clerk and others. Before *Mar* came, the Guard made some Difficulty to admit them, and grant them

En-

Entrance into the King's Chamber: For they, serving for Pay, and being put in, and commanded by *Arran*, when they heard what had happened to their Captain, made an Offer to resist, and not to suffer any Man to come near the King, unless he should signify his Pleasure to be such.

SIR Lewis Ballantine conceiving great Indignation hereat, asked at *Mr. David Hume*, who by Chance was come thither, and stood next to him, if he had a Pistol about him, which he gave him, but withall said to him, *Be not too hasty to shoot, let them alone, you shall find that their Fury will soon fail, lacking their Captain and a Head, and that they will give Way, when once they see the Nobility approach.* And so they did indeed; for the Earl of *Mar* being come, and the rest joining with him, they shrunk away. When they came to the King, they shewed him the Necessity of doing what they had done, in regard of the Violence of *Arran*, and their Fear and Suspicion of the Duke of *Lennox*; that there was no other Way to remove the general Discontent of his Subjects, and to prevent the Dangers which would follow thereupon to himself and his Crown, than by removing of these Men from about him, whose unjust Actions, and violent Oppressions, reflected upon his Majesty, to the great Prejudice of his Honour and Estate, as also to the great Disadvantage of Religion, and the Good of his People. The King assented to what they said, either because he thought it to be true, or rather, as appeared afterwards, that he might seem to approve of that which he could not resist. So they go to *Perth*, then to *Stirling*, where their Proclamations were set forth; the one containing the King's Declaration concerning what was done at *Ruthven*, that it was for his Service, and acceptable to him. In the other, the Duke of *Lennox* was

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

commanded to depart out of the Realm of Scotland, before the 24th of September. There was a third also, by which the Chamberlain-Eyres were discharged to be kept.

Angus returns home.

THE Earl of Angus had, a little before these things, come down from the Court of England to Berwick, in Expectation of this Change, and now having Notice given him by these Noblemen of what had passed, he staid a while in the Town, and thereafter came into Scotland; yet did he not go directly to Court, but came to Cumlege in the Merse, a House within eight Miles of Berwick, which belonged to Archibald Auchinlock, a Follower of his Uncle Morton, and lay next adjacent to his Barony of Buncle. There he remained, till Mr. Bowes and Mr. Cary, Ambassadors from the Queen of England, came into Scotland, the 11th of September, and did by their Intercession obtain of the King, that he might be asfoilzied from that Crime of Rebellion which his Enemies had put upon him, because he had not obeyed their Charges given out in the King's Name, to come to Court, which was indeed to come into their Power. Neither did he presently after he was relaxed come near the King, until he had Assurance that the King was well contented, and desirous that he should come to him; but staid about five Weeks, expecting his full and free Consent therein, that his Return might be such as could not be excepted against. The King delayed him a while, that he might be beholden to him for this Favour, and he was contented to stay so long, that the King might see he was willing to receive it at his Hands as a Favour, and that by so doing, he might fully remove all hard Construction that his Majesty could make of his withdrawing into England. He had Presence of the King the 20th of October, about

about two Months after he came home, in the Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, where he was kindly and lovingly received, to the great Contentment of all Men, and with great Commendation of his Modesty; for that he had patiently waited for his Prince's Pleasure so long a Time, and had not abruptly rusht into his Sight, which many would, and he might have done easily, had he pleased to have made use of the Opportunity which was offered: But his Disposition was not that Way set; he was truly of a mild Disposition, abhorring all Turbulence, inclining to Peace, and to all Submission toward his Prince.

Now being thus returned, gladly would he have lived in Quietness, and enjoyed the King's Favour still, as he had it at this Time, and willingly would he have served him as a faithful and loyal Subject, according as he had been pleased to have employed him, without further stirring or meddling with any thing, or any Person. Neither, as I think, did the World ever know, or bring forth a more calm and quiet Spirit, void of Ambition and Covetousness, as also of all Envy and Malice to any Creature, which are the chief Causes of tumultuous Practices. He was also mindful of *Morton's* Counsel at his Death, who advised him to do so: And being already in so honourable a Place (first of the Nobility) he had little or nothing else to desire or hope for, if he could have been assured to possess his own in Peace. But finding the Country divided, the Dregs of the old Faction that stood for the Queen still working underhand, and by it the *Romish* Party labouring to undermine the true reformed Religion, and such as had been Instruments to establish it, upon whose Ruin these new Men did endeavour to build their Preferment; so that none could with
Surety.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

Surety live in any honourable Place, as a good Patriot, but behaved to take Part with them that stood for Religion, and undergo the like Hazard as they did. Besides, these Noblemen had in very Deed wrought out and made way for his Return from Exile, by removing those who were, as common Enemies to all honest Men, so more particularly his special Enemies, having been Authors of his Uncle's Death, and who had seized upon his own Lands and Possessions. They were also his near Kinsmen, and dear Friends, Gowry and Glamis were come of his House, Oliphant was of his Alliance, having married Margaret Douglas Daughter to William of Lochlevin, and Mar was his Brother-in-law, and no less his Brother in Affection, which continued without the least Breach or Diminution so long as he lived. These private and publick Inducements thus concurring, he could not esteem that Cause to be more theirs than his own; and therefore could not chuse but embrace it as his own, that is, to the utmost of his Power.

He joins
with the
Lords a-
gainst the
Courtiers.

Lennox dies
in France.

Gowry takes
a Remission
for the Fact
at Ruthven,

THEREFORE he joined with them in it sincerely; but they continued not long undivided amongst themselves: For the Duke being divers times charged to void the Realm, after divers Shifts and Delays, at last he went through England into France, in the Month of December, and not long after he died there the 27th of July 1583. After he was gone, they being rid of that Fear, there fell out Dissention betwixt the Earl of Gowry and Secretary Pitcairn (made Lord of Dunfermline) in April 1583. The King went to the Castle of St. Andrews in August, and there the Earl of Gowry, having changed his Mind with the Change of Affairs, took a Remission for his Fact at Ruthven, as being Treason, and so by his own Confession, condemned himself, and all

all his Partners therein, and by separating himself from them, overthrew the Cause and them with it. All this while after *Angus's* Return, there was nothing done worthy of Memory, save that he, out of his Love and Respect to his Uncle *Morton* caused his Head to be taken down from the City-gate, and honourably buried with his Body, the 10th December 1582. The chief Instrument in this Change was *William Stewart*, a Brother of the House of *Gordon*, who had been a Colonel in the Low-Countries, and was then Captain of the King's Guard, *Gowry* had brought him home, and preferred him to the King's Service, on purpose to counterpoise the Greatness of *Arran*: But they were so wise as not to cross one another; but, on the contrary, they did aid and strengthen each other all they could.

By this *William's* Means, the Authors of the Fact at *Ruthven* were strictly commanded to depart from the Court, and the Earl of *Arran* recalled thither. *Angus* had joined with those of *Ruthven*, yet because he had not been an Actor there, and had had no Hand in it, he hoped that they would suffer him to live in Quietness at Home. Secretary *Walsingham*, Ambassador from Queen *Elizabeth*, had gotten a Promise of the King that he should be fully restored to all his Possessions, and he had relied thereon, and waited long for the Performance thereof; but finding nothing but Delays, he perceived they had no good Meaning towards him. And so indeed it proved, for *Mar*, and the Master of *Glamis* were confined in *Argyle*, the Castle of *Stirling* (of which *Mar* and his Predecessors had been Keepers time out of Mind) was committed to the Custody of *Arran*, and the Earl of *Angus* was confined beyond *Forth*.

Arran returns to Court.

Angus confined beyond *Forth*.

BEFORE his going to the Place of his Confinement, he wrote some of his Friends to accom-

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company him thither for his Safety in his Journey. This being known at Court, it was interpreted to be done of Intention to surprise the King, who was that Day to go a-hawking. It was alledged also, that *Mar* and *Glamis* were to meet at *Auchnowhill*, and to join with him. Hereupon the King having risen by times that Morning to go to his Sport, and being ready to take Horse, was stayed that Day, and Couriers sent out to try how Matters went, and whether that Report were true. Some of these Scouts came to the *Key-stone* (for that Way *Angus* took of purpose, being furthest off from the Court, that he might be out of Danger, and they freed from all Fear of him) and found him riding in a peaceable manner, accompanied with a small Train of his Domestic-sticks only, and those but half armed, (which was ordinary then, even in the most peaceable Times) and no ways prepared for War. He desired them to tell his Majesty, that he was going towards the Place of his Confinement, in Obedience to him; and they did relate the Truth very faithfully and honestly to the King. This Rumour of surprising the King, was said to have proceeded from one of his his own Name, who having been in *Tantallon* the Day before, and perceiving that there were Letters writing which they did not communicate to him (as *Angus* did never impart Business to any but such as were his intimate Friends, and there having been some Difference betwixt him and this Gentleman, he never used him after that so familiarly) made this Conjecture of their Secrecy, and whispered it to the Courtiers, who were apt to believe it; Whether he did indeed suspect some such thing, or if it were raised only by envious and malicious Persons, we cannot affirm, but Fame laid the Blame of it on him; for that he having

ving been so late over-night at *Tantallon*, had made great Haste to be in *Edinburgh* that Night, and came to Court before Day-light: And that upon his coming, the King's hawking was staid; yet it is uncertain, for he was commanded also to depart out of the Country.

THE Earl of *Angus* crossed *Forth* at the *Queensferry*, and went to his own House at *Aberdour*; but because there he was too near the Court, and so obnoxious to Suspicion, he removed from thence to *Kinross*: And to secure them yet more, leaving his Household there behind him, he went almost alone to *Lessy*, a House belonging to his Brother-in-law the Master of *Rothies*. Being there, he moved him and the Earl his Father to deal with the Courtiers to grant him so much Favour as to suffer him to live a private Life, at one of his own Houses in the Country, far from Court and State Business: But they were so far from yielding to any such thing, that whereas he had been charged only to remain beyond *Forth* before, He is sent now he is sent to remain beyond *Spey*.

WHEREFORE he takes his Journey thither, and came to *Dundee*, and from thence towards *Elgin* in *Murray*. Mr. *Scrimgeour* of *Diddup*, Constable of *Dundee*, would needs bring him on his Way; and, as if he had intended no more, caused carry his Hawks with him, but by no means would leave him till he came to his Journey's end. By the Way, he being well known, took upon him to be the chief Man, and gave out that *Angus* was his Son-in-law, the Laird of *Inchmartin*. This he did, lest the Courtiers should have laid some Ambush for him by the Way, he being to pass through a Country, where their Party was strong, and where they had many Favourers, having none of his own Followers with him save *Robert Douglas* of *Cavers* Gentleman of his Horses.

So

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So he passed the *Cairnmount* with great Haste, the rest of his Household following after by easy Journeys. Great was the Care his worthy Friend the Constable had of him; and many Ways did he labour to divert his Thoughts from dwelling upon his present hard Condition: There was no kind of Sport which he did not afford him, to cheer him up; till the Court, envying even this small Contentment to him, commanded the Constable also to go off the Country; yet was he never destitute of Friends. Such was the Sweetness of his Disposition, and of such Force was it, that it won the Hearts of all the Gentlemen in those Quarters; such as, the *Inneses*, *Dunbars*, *Hays*, and others, who did all strive who should shew most Affection towards him, by inviting him to their Houses, and using him with all Courtesy and Respect; so that he could not have been more honoured amongst his nearest Kinsfolks. Nay, such was their Love to him, that hearing some Surmises of no Good-will born to him by *Huntly*, they of their own accord came to him and forbad him to be afraid of him, for they would spend their Lives in his Defence, if the Earl of *Huntly* should attempt any thing against him. Wherefore it was thought that they being thus affected, he durst not adventure to execute any Court Plot against him, which he wanted no Good-will to do: Yet was this the Place of the Kingdom where all *Huntly's* Power and Friendship lay, and where *Angus* had fewest Friends, all of them being mere Strangers to him, without any Ty or Relation, but what his Worth had gained in that short Time of his being amongst them.

Discord betwixt the Ministers and Courtiers.

THE Courtiers at this Time had no small Contest with the Ministers, chiefly with Mr. *James Lowson*, Mr. *Walter Balcanquhall*, *John Dury* Ministers at *Edinburgh*, and Mr. *Andrew Melvil*,

Melvil Principal of the New College of St. Andrews, and Professor of Divinity there : The Occasion was this ; they had at a General Assembly approved the Fact of *Ruthven* by the King's especial Commandment, and now being desired by the Courtiers to condemn it, they refused to do it. Both Sides alledged the King's Authority ; the Courtiers pleading, that such was his Will now ; and the Ministers, that it was not such then. The Courtiers said, that he was a Captive then : And the Ministers replied, that perhaps he was so now ; that they saw not any thralling of him then ; and that it might as well be alledged hereafter that he was a Captive now, as it was alledged now that he was a Captive then. As for the particular Quarrels of either Side, they said they knew them not ; but one thing they knew, that they were as good Men, as noble, as well affected to his Majesty, who were with him then ; as those who were about him now ; that they were as free from all Suspicion of Unsoundness in Religion, nay, much freer, the others being at least suspected.

IN which Regard they could not retract what they had done, and could not but approve of their Fact, who had removed from the King Men that were not altogether free of Suspicion. What private Ends they then had was unknown to them, as also they were ignorant what Aims they now had : Both pretended the King's Will ; but they were sure of this Point, that the removing of suspected Men was a good Office, and that the Instruments thereof were Instruments of a good Work, whatsoever were their Intentions. Thus most of them spake. Others expressed themselves more harshly, saying, that wicked Men were removed, and such as were Enemies to the Church and Country, who sought their own Preferment

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ment with the Overthrow of all. These Speeches were very unfavoury to the Earl of *Arran*, to *Colonel Stewart*, and the Prior of *Pittenweem*. It rubbed upon them, and by consequence, as they would have it appear, reflected upon the King; wherefore they called it *Sedition*, and stirring up of *Dissention* betwixt the King and his Subjects. So they inform the King, and by their Information animate him against them. Wherefore *John Dury* behoved to be removed from *Edinburgh* to *Montrose*; *Mr. James Lowson* and *Mr. Walter Balcanquhall* were rebuked only. *Mr. Walter's* Text was *Treason* against the Courtiers, and spake too much, though he had said nothing: It was that Passage of *Ecclesiastes*, *I saw Princes walking on Foot, and Servants riding on Horseback*; that is, *Great and worthy Men* displaced, and *base Men* set up in their Room: To which Doctrine he added an *Admonition*, that they should look to themselves when the Cup of their *Iniquity* should be full. *Mr. Andrew Melvil* was delated to the King and Council by one *William Stewart*, that he had said in a Sermon of his, *That the King was unlawfully called to the Kingdom*; but he craved, that seeing he was accused of wrong Doctrine, that he might be tried by a General or Synodical Assembly, who are the proper Judges of Doctrine delivered from the Pulpit: It was answered, that he should have no other than the King and Council, who ordained him to enter himself Prisoner in *Blackness*. Whereupon he fearing, and informed that *Colonel Stewart* and *Arran* had no good Meaning towards him, fled secretly to *Berwick*. Before his Departure he drew up his *Apology*, of which it will not be amiss to set down the Sum, as a Testimony of his Innocence, as also of the Iniquity of those Times, that so it may appear more evidently

*Melvil flies
to Berwick.*

dently what just Grounds the Noblemen had
 to labour to have Things redressed, and such
 enormous Insolencies repressed. First, He
 protested solemnly before God and his An-
 gels, that he never uttered, either in that Ser-
 mon or in any other, any one Word which
 might import any Disgrace of his Sovereign
 the King's Majesty; but had ever exhorted
 all Men to yield him all Reverence and O-
 bedience: That he had ever, and still did
 acknowledge him his lawful Prince and su-
 preme Governor in Civil Matters; that he
 had ever, and even then prayed for his Pre-
 servation and Prosperity. Secondly, That his
 Desire to be tried by a Synod of the Church
 did not proceed from any Intention to call
 his Majesty's Authority in question, but only
 because they were appointed to be the ordi-
 nary Judges of any thing delivered in preach-
 ing, *in prima instantia*. He alledged for this
 a plain Act of Parliament, and a Conference
 betwixt certain Lords of the Council and
 some Ministers deputed by the King, who
 had agreed upon this Conclusion. Thirdly,
 He said, that Councils and Doctors of the
 Church did think that the Trial of such things
 is most conveniently and fitly to be taken in
 the Place where the Scandal is given, which
 was *St. Andrews*; for there that Sermon was
 preached. Fourthly, He pleaded, that the Pri-
 vileges of the University, granted to it by
 former Kings, and ratified by his Majesty's
 self, made the Rector and his Assessors, Jud-
 ges to all Ministers, Masters and Students that
 were Members of the same, and were accu-
 sed of any Offence committed within the Li-
 berties thereof. Fifthly, That he spake no-
 thing but what he had good Warrant for from
 Scripture. Sixthly, That he had for him;
 first, the Testimony of the University, signed
 by

His Apo-
logy.

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by the Rector, and sealed with their Seal; secondly, the Testimony of the Kirk Session in *St. Andrews*, subscribed by the Ministers, Elders and Deacons; thirdly, the Testimony of the Provost, Baillies and Town-council, signed by the Town-clerk by their Commandment, and sealed with their Seal; fourthly, and last of all, the Testimony of the Presbytery, subscribed by the Clerk thereof: Which Testimonies were of more Value to absolve him, than any one Man's Accusation was to condemn him. Seventhly, He desired that he might have the common Privilege of all the Subjects, which was to know his Accuser, and the Prerogative of a Minister of God's Word, that an Accusation should not be received, or put in Process, against him, but under two or three Witnesses. Eighthly, That his Accuser might be liable, and incur the Punishment due to him by the Acts of Parliament, if his Accusation were found to be false. Ninthly, That the Defender might have place, and be permitted to object against his Accuser: And that if *William Stewart* were the Man, he would prove that the said *William* had professed Hatred against him, and had threatned him to do him bodily Harm; in which Respect his Information was to be suspected, if he were the Delator; or if he were a Witness, his Testimony was not sufficient. Notwithstanding all this, yet he said he would simply declare the Truth in the Presence of God and his Angels, so far forth as his Memory would serve him. He said, his Text was, *Daniel's* expounding of the Hand-writing on the Wall to *Belshazzar*. Here he observed how *Daniel* in reproving *Belshazzar* for not giving Glory to God for his Benefits towards him and his Father, and for abusing the Vessels of the House of God,

did

did apply the Text of the Hand-writing to *Belshazzar*. From hence, and other Places of Scripture, he inferred, that Application ought to be made of Examples, whether of Mercies or Judgments, by the Ministers of the Word (as *Daniel* was) to Kings, as was *Belshazzar*: And that the nearer the Example touched the Party to whom it were applied, as that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was Father to *Belshazzar*, the more forcible it would be. This (said he) is the right way of Application; but who doth it now-a-days? Or if any do it, who cares for it, or is moved with it? If a Man should now apply the Example of our Predecessors to these Times, as of King *James III.* how his Courtiers and Flatterers abused him, would they not say that he wandred from his Text? Nay, perhaps, accuse him of Treason. Secondly, he said, concerning these Words which his Accuser did alledge to have been spoken by him, (that our *Nebuchadnezzar*, to wit, the King's Mother, had been banished twice seven Years, and would be restored again) as it never came into his Mind, so did he not remember the Words, or any Expression tending to that purpose, or importing any such thing. Thirdly, As for that Speech, that the King was unlawfully called to the Crown, or any thing sounding that way; he protested before God he never spake it, nor did he ever doubt of the Lawfulness of his Majesty's Authority, which the Church had ever maintained, and he himself constantly avouched, as all that knew him could bear witness. That it was true, that in speaking of *Nebuchadnezzar*, he had said; That first, howbeit he had succeeded to his Father's Kingdom, and that when he was of ripe Years; secondly, though he were endowed with Wisdom, Learning,

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' Liberality, and other Virtues; thirdly, though
 ' he had conquered and purchased divers Ter-
 ' ritories and Countries, as a valiant Captain
 ' (having been Lieutenant to his Father) in his
 ' Father's Time; fourthly, and although he
 ' were made King (after his Father) by all
 ' the Nobility, yet *Daniel* maketh mention of
 ' none of all these, but saith, *That GOD gave*
 ' *him the Kingdom.* From whence he gather-
 ' ed, as a firm Conclusion, That by whatso-
 ' ever way Kingdoms do come, whether by
 ' Election, Succession or Conquest, whether by
 ' ordinary or extraordinary Means, it is GOD
 ' that gives them, and He that makes Kings.
 ' But alas! Men do forget this that are in high
 ' Places, as Experience doth shew: And not
 ' only Atheists and Idolaters, but even godly
 ' Kings are subject to this Forgetfulness. *Da-*
 ' *vid* extraordinarily called, *Solomon* also ex-
 ' traordinarily, and *Joash* extraordinarily pre-
 ' served and crowned in his tender Years, did
 ' all forget the Ordainer, all forget GOD their
 ' Advancer; and He therefore did chastise
 ' them. That instead of applying this to the
 ' King, he did (as his Custom ever was when
 ' he spake of his Majesty) turn and convert it
 ' into a Prayer: That since such was the Weak-
 ' ness of godly Kings, it would please GOD
 ' of his Mercy never to suffer our King to for-
 ' get GOD's Goodness and Mercy towards
 ' him, who had called him extraordinarily to
 ' be King of the Country; first, being but a
 ' Child in his Cradle; secondly, his Mother yet
 ' alive, thirdly, a great part of the Nobility
 ' his Enemies; and fourthly, some of them
 ' still pursuing of him, ever since the heavy
 ' Burden of Government was laid on his
 ' Shoulders. He concluded, that these were
 ' his formal Words; upon which, what Ground
 ' any Man could have to build such Accusation
 ' against

against him, he referred it to the Wisdom of his Majesty and his Council, who, he hoped, would not give Ear to such who through Malice did stretch or wrest his Words, or through Ignorance did mistake them; not being able to distinguish betwixt *extraordinary calling* and *unlawful calling*. This Declaration he set forth, not so much to beg Favour, but to render the Reason of his voluntary Exile. Divers more than he who suffered as he did, and for the same Cause, set forth likewise their Apologies to justify themselves, by clearing their Innocence, and shewing the Causes of their leaving the Country. The Courtiers did interest the King in all these Quarrels: And by all Means strove to make him believe that all was against him, and that their Aim was at him, whom they wounded through their Sides; and fain they would have perswaded all others to the same. But all were not so blind; there were many that could, and did distinguish and separate the King's Cause from the Courtiers; and did shew, that as they hated them, so they loved him: Especially the Ministry, who at a General Assembly held at *Edinburgh* in *November*, appointed a General Fast to be kept throughout the whole Kingdom; and gave out the Reasons thereof to be, first, the abounding of Wickedness; secondly, the Danger of the Church; thirdly, the Danger of the King; fourthly, the Danger of the Commonwealth, (which all were meant and did directly point at the Rulers of Court chiefly) through their Wickedness, Atheism, want of Religion, Godlessness, Popishness, or Libertinism, Avarice, Aspiring: Who being sole (said they) or chief about the King, under the shadow of his Authority; first, do trouble the Ministry; secondly, seek to pervert his Majesty, and draw him (if it were possible for them) to the same Contempt.

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tempt of Religion, that so in time he might become a Persecutor and Enemy to the Church, and overthrow it altogether; thirdly, do tread under-foot the Common-wealth of this Country, by banishing the best of the Nobility, who do love God and the Church best, and are best affected towards the King's Welfare, that they in the mean time may possess and bruik their Lands and Inheritance; and fourthly, who suffered Murder, Oppression, Witchcraft, Whoredom, and many other Sins to pass unpunished and uncurbed. This Fast continued the space of a Week, including both the *Sundays*.

THE Courtiers, notwithstanding this, contemning all Admonitions, kept on their own Course of committing, banishing and discrediting all such as they thought did favour the Nobility, and were not forward enough to advance their Faction. They ingrossed all Places of Authority to themselves; disarmed and disabled all others: Of which I will recount one Example amongst many; I have made Mention above, how some Variance fell out betwixt *Pitcairn* Abbot of *Dunfermline* and the Earl of *Gowry*. Hereupon *Gowry* to match *Pitcairn*, had reconciled himself to the Courtiers, and was thought especially to be very intimate with Colonel *Stewart*. *Pitcairn* laboured to outshoot the Earl in his own Bow, and for that end sues to the Colonel for his Friendship, which because he knew that it was vendible, he sent him the Price thereof (according to his Estimate) in Gold. The Colonel liked the Metal, but not the Condition, and therefore he kept both his Friendship and the Gold to himself; and having shewed it to the King and *Gowry*, deriding him, said, *That the Abbot had sent him that, to draw the King to favour him*; And thus was he flouted, and wiped

wiped clean of his Money. *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin* was confined in the *Merse*, for no other Fault but because he was a *Douglas*, and as honest a Man as in the Kingdom. *Sir George Hume* of *Wedderburn*, because he was a Friend of the Earl of *Angus*, was sent Prisoner to the Castle of *Down*. *Sir James Hume* of *Coldin* knows was committed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. *Mr. Cunningham* of *Drumwhaste* was likewise imprisoned. And *Mr. John Colvill*, Brother to *Cleish*, had been served in the same kind, if he had not prevented it by flying. Many others were used in the same manner, it being a sufficient Crime to favour the dis-courted Noblemen. Last of all, a Proclamation was made, wherein the Fact at *Ruthven* was condemned as treasonable, and all the Actors therein, or Favourers of them, were commanded to depart from *Edinburgh*, and not to come near the Place where the King should happen to be, under pain of Death. The Earl of *Gowry* had taken a Remission for it, but it did him no Good; for he was particularly charged not to remain in *Scotland*, *England* or *Ireland*, with a *non obstante*, notwithstanding any Remission obtained before. And to secure themselves yet further, they prohibited all Men to carry Pistols, except the King's Domesticks and his Guard.

Gowrie
commanded
to go be-
yond Sea,

THEY brought home also into *Scotland* *Ludovick* Duke of *Lennox*, Son to *Aubigny*, being then but a Child, to strengthen their Party, and to ty the King's Affection so much the more to them. He was restored to his Father's Estate, and (as a Part thereof) to the Lordship of *Dalkeith*. This being *Angus's* Inheritance, they thought it would engage the Duke in a perpetual Enmity with him, as it is ordinary for a Man to hate him whom he wrongs. On these and the like Grounds they established

Ludovick
Duke of,
Lennox
brought
home.

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to themselves, in their own Conceit, a safe Estate; which they had so linked with the King's, that neither could be brangled without overturning the other. But these Courses produced a quite contrary Effect, and even then wrought such Disposition in Men, as did at last overthrow all their Plots, and themselves withall. So unsure a Foundation is Iniquity. For *Angus*, as he was altogether innocent of any thing that could be alledged against him, even in their own Judgments, so was he universally beloved of all, by an hereditary Popularity from his Ancestors, and more for his own known Virtues; and therefore being thus wronged, he was pitied of all. *Mar* in like manner being descended of an honourable and loyal Race of Progenitors, as also for his own good Parts, was beloved and pitied, notwithstanding that he had been an Actor at *Ruthven*. The Earl of *Gowry*, on the contrary, was greatly hated by the Courtiers, and little regarded by the other Party. He had assisted with his Father at the Slaughter of *Rixio*, and was the principal Actor in the Fact of *Ruthven*: Yet had he changed his side at *St. Andrews*, repented him of what he had done, and had taken a Remission for it. Now being cast off by the Court, and commanded to depart off the Country, he repents of his Repentance, and would, if he could, salve all again, by retracting of this last Act. But as the committing of the Fact had made him to be hated by the Courtiers, so his condemning of it had brought him to be suspected of the Noblemen. He had condemned himself, and did deserve to be condemned, either for that he had done at *Ruthven*, or for his condemning of what he did then, and taking a Remission for it. He had given a Colour to the adverse Party to condemn it by his Example, and had furnished them with that Argument to press the condemning

deinming of it upon the Ministry: For that was their main Argument, and the String they most harped on, *Gowry's* Confession of a Fault, and Remission for it. Notwithstanding all this, he desires to join with the Lords, and offers to ty himself to their Party with the strictest Bonds that could be devised. Their Case was the same with his; all to be utterly undone, unless some Remedy were found: Their Enemies were the same with his, the Guiders of Court; neither should they only be overthrown, but with them the Estate of Religion, and the whole Country. This as it was specious, so was it true, and could not be denied. But what Society could be sure with the Earl of *Gowry's* so often changing? If his changing proceeded from Fraud, who could join with him? Or if it were from Fear, what sure Hold could they have of one so fearful? Even *Angus* himself, whose Nature was far from distrusting, could not but distrust him. Only, his present Case seemed to plead for his Sincerity, which was such, that he knew not where to shelter himself but by joining with them: For he was charged to depart out of the Kingdom, which was a Token of Enmity with the Court; or certainly, a deeper Dissimulation than any Man could conceive. And as Necessity did force him to take part with them; so were they also no less urged by Necessity to receive him, in respect of his great Power in those Quarters. The Earl of *Athole*, and the Lord *Ogilvy* (two Noblemen of great Power and Command) were his Sons-in-law: *Inchaffrey* and *Drummond* his dear Friends; and he himself was Sheriff of *Perth*, and Provost of the Town. Wherefore *Angus's* Confinement being enlarged to the North-water, and he residing in the Castle of *Brechin*, his Brother the Earl of *Mar's* House, he sent one Mr. *David Hume* *, whom

* The Author.

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he trusted, to confer with him, that he might try and sound him as narrowly as he could, and report to him what he found. The Gentleman found him greatly perplexed, solicitous for his Estate, besides the Affairs of the Country, and greatly afraid of the Violence of the Courtiers. So that looking very pitifully upon his Gallery, where we were walking at that Time, which he had but newly built and decored with Pictures, he brake out into these Words, having first fetched a deep Sigh; *Cousin*, says he, *is there no Remedy? Et impius hac tam culta novalia miles habebit? Barbarus has segetes?* Whereupon he was perswaded of his upright Meaning, and at his Return perswaded the Earl of *Angus* thereof also. So partly upon this Assurance, partly enforced by Necessity, (there being no possibility to be strong in those Parts without his Concurrence) he resolved to assume him into their Fellowship and Society. Then did those Scruples arise in *Angus's* Mind which are incident to honest Natures and loyal Dispositions. He considered that banding against Courtiers would be called, and seem to be, combining against the King; for he would take their part for the present: So was he to force his Will, whom his Heart carried him to honour. But what should he do? There was no other way to secure their Estates, themselves, their Country, and all honest Men, from Oppression and Ruin; to preserve Religion, which was dear to him; nay, even to save the King himself, whose Safety did consist in the Preservation of the Church and Kingdom; and to deliver him out of the Claws of these Harpies, whose Wickedness did redound to his Dishonour. For whatsoever they did, was done in his Name, and said to be the King's Pleasure. Their banishing of Noblemen, and oppressing of all sorts of Men without respect, so that
there

there was no honest Man but stood in continual Fear of losing his Life and Estate: All this was laid upon the King. Their Avarice was insatiable, their Malice cruel, and their Suspicion unsatisfiable. They stood not upon Law or Right; any Pretence served them for a Warrant to seize Mens Persons or Estates. Their ordinary Course was to summon a Man *super inquirendis*; and if he did compear, to commit him to a free or close Prison: If he were afraid, and did not compear, he was found guilty of Rebellion, denounced, and his Goods seized. They would be sure not to want Witnesses to prove any thing against any Man, by torturing his Servants, or himself, to wring something out of him, which might be matter against him, through Impatience and the Violence of the Rack: At least, he should be sure to be vexed by Re-examinations, and withdrawn from his necessary Affairs, that so he might be constrained to buy his Liberty and Leave to stay at home, with some Portion of his Land, or a Piece of Money.

THESE Doings of theirs, though many knew that the King did not allow of them, yet being coloured with his Authority, were apt to alienate the Minds of the Subjects from their Prince, as also the Heart of the Prince from his Subjects, by their filling his Ears with Jealousies, and by making Virtue a Cause of Suspicion, and him that was virtuous in any eminent Measure, suspected and hated; and on the contrary, Vice and the Vicious to have Vogue and Credit, and to over-rule all.

How could this be obviated, unless these Men were removed? And how could they be removed without controuling of the King? And though it were for his Good and Safety, how ill would that be taken by him? *Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti*: To save a

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Man against his Will, is commonly rewarded with slender Thanks. *Patriam & parentes cogere etiamsi possis, & utile sit, tamen importunum est*: To save a Prince against his Will, and to force him for his Good, how dangerous a Point is it? For they account it as their Life to reign, and no reigning without Absoluteness, unless they reign at Liberty, without any Controul. But there was no Remedy; who so undertakes any great Enterprize must resolve to pass through some Danger,

AND it is good for Kings sometimes that their Hands be held. Had *Alexander's* Hands been held when he killed *Clitus*, he had not offered to kill himself; nor should *Callisthenes* have needed to take such Pains with him, to make him digest his Grief for it. If Speeches could have prevailed with the Courtiers, the Ministers had tried that Way, but with bad Success; for they were accounted seditious for their Freedom therein: Wherefore there was nothing remaining but to remove them at whatever rate; and if his Majesty should take it ill for the present, future Obsequiousness would make it appear that what they did, was in Love and Humility, and no ways out of any treasonable Intention, or out of Presumption. The *French* Proverb taketh Place, *Il faut passer par la*, there was no other Way besides.

So they conclude to join their Pains, and partake of the Peril. The Way resolved upon, was, to assemble themselves at *Stirling* with their Forces, there to supplicate the King, and to make their Declaration to the Country, to intimate their Grievances with all Respect to his Majesty, and with all Evidence and Plainness against the Courtiers.

FOR this End, the Earl of *Mar* and Master of *Glamis* should be sent for, and first find Means

Means to take in the Castle of *Stirling*, (an easy Task for the Earl of *Mar* to perform, having his Friends lying near to it, and the Town devoted to his Service) then the Earl of *Gowry* should go thither, who lay nearest to it, together with the Earl of *Athole*, the Lord *Ogilvy*, the *Drummonds* and the *Murrays*: Next to him the Earl of *Angus* from *Bruchin*, to whom his Friends would repair out of the South Parts, the *Merse*, *Liddisdale* and other Parts; the Earl *Bothwell*, my Lord *Lindsay*, and divers others of the Nobility were also on the Party, and had promised to join with them.

Being once convened, and having the Affection of the Ministry and Burrows, they hoped to be strong enough against these new Mens own Power, assisted only by their particular Friends. If the King's Name were used against them, there belov'd to be a Convention of the Nobility and Barons, who would hear the Cause and inform the King truly, without Fear of the Courtiers, whom they hated; neither could they doubt of his Equity, when he should understand how things were. So the Business should have a happy Issue. And if the worst should come, yet were it better to die nobly in the Field, than to suffer by the Hand of the Executioner.

THUS did they propose, but God did dispose of things otherwise. Men know not the Counsel of the Almighty, whose Determination doth only stand. He had not ordained that they should execute their Designs, nor that they should die in the Quarrel; it was to be done another Way, and at another Time; the Cup of their Iniquity against whom they took Arms, was not yet full: Wherefore they were disappointed at this Time, which fell out thus, the Earl of *Gowry* was charged the second of

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March to depart the Country in fifteen Days. He delayed; this affrighted the Courtiers, or gave them occasion to put the King in a Suspicion that there was some Enterprize in hand against him: Whereupon the Citizens of *Edinburgh* were made to keep a Watch about the Palace. *Gowry* made Shew as if he had intended to obey the Charge; contrary to the Advice of his Associates, and that they might believe that his Intention was real, he goeth to *Dundee*, causeth provide a Ship, and make all things ready; so that the Courtiers were not more afraid that he would stay, than his Partners were that he would be gone; especially the Earl of *Angus*, who was jealous of his Dissimulation, being uncertain whether it were with the Court, or with them that he did thus dissemble.

Gowry taken at Dundee.

At last having trifled out the Time till the middle of *April*, Colonel *William Stewart* came to *Dundee*, and having a small Company with him, setteth upon him at unawares, and made him save himself in his Lodging. Then having brought some Pieces of Ordnance out of the Ships which lay in the Haven, being aided by the Townsmen, to whom he had brought a Warrant from the King, he began to batter the House; whereupon it was rendred, and the Earl taken Prisoner. By chance as this was doing, a Servant of the Earl of *Angus* coming from *Dalkeith* by *Dundee*, and having seen all that had happened, made haste and came to *Brechin* about twelve o' Clock at Night, where he gave his Lord Notice of what he had seen. He arose presently, being much moved therewith; and sending for the Gentleman whom he had employed to try his Mind before, made a heavy Moan, bewailing the Overthrow of their Cause, and of themselves. Then he asked his Opinion what he thought of

of it, and first told his own, that he thought it could be nothing else but Deceit and Collusion, which he had ever feared, and was now evident; that his going to *Dundee*, contrary to his Advice, had no other End but this, and that his lingering proceeded from the same Ground: For, said he, how could the Colonel undertake to apprehend him with so small a Number of Men, if he had not himself been willing to be taken? If he distrust- ed the Town of *Dundee*, why did he come in their Power? Why did he not stay at *Perth*, where he was out of all Danger, till the time appointed were come? Doubtless he hath betrayed us all, and hath colluded to suffer himself to be taken, so to colour his unfaith- ful Dealing with us.

It was answered. That he could not approve his coming to *Dundee*, which he ever disliked, and had laboured to diswade him from it, but could not prevail; yet it seemed a hard Con- struction to think that he came thither of pur- pose to act a feigned apprehending; that his Lingering was well known to be his nat- ural Disposition, which he had often found by former Experience, and often contested with him for it: But to think him false in such a Degree, or to imagine him to be so foolish as to come in the Hands of those Courtiers, with a Crime lying on him, though but coun- terfeited, it was such a Point, that for his own Part, his Opinion was, that he durst not do it, lest they should make use of it for his Ruin, and convert a colluded Crime into a true Dit- tay, and so work his Death. But this could not satisfy the Earl of *Angus*, but still he kept his Opinion, that there was no Reality in that Act of *Gowry's* apprehending. And he was the more confirmed therein, when he heard that the Colonel had carried *Gowry* to the

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Houses of his own special Friends, such as *Wemyss*, of *Wester-Wemyss*, whose Son offered to set him at Liberty, and take him out of the Colonel's Hands, and to go with him himself, which he refused to do. *Angus* passed the rest of that Night in great Sollicitude and Fear, lest he himself should be assailed, and taken after the same manner, which had been no hard Matter to perform, he having but a small Family, and the Castle not being furnished with Arms, the Earl of *Crawford* lying hard at Hand with his Dependens, and that whole Country being evil affected to him.

BUT whether the Colonel had no Commission to take him, or that he thought he had sped well enough already, by taking *Gowry*, is uncertain: But however it were, he went away with the Prey he had gotten, without attempting any thing against *Angus*. And yet for all that, *Angus* was not altogether secure, knowing the small Power he had to defend himself: For in the Day-time he went Abroad a hunting, that they might not know where to find him; And in the Night, he caused his Servants to keep Watch, that he might not be surprized unawares.

WITHIN three Days after, the Earl of *Mar* sent to him, to let him know that the Master of *Glamis* and he had performed their Part of the Work, had taken the Castle of *Stirling*, and were ready to wait upon his coming, which they entreated him to hasten. There was no Choice, they were his true Friends, and he was no less theirs; and they were resolved to run the same Hazard in that Course, from which there was no retiring for either of them. *Angus* desired Lord *Ogilvy*, and Mr. *Ogilvy* of *Powrie*, with others of that Name to go with him. They were allied to the Earl of *Gowry*, and were well affected to
the

the Business, as also they were his Vassals; but being terrified with Gowry's taking, and thinking that their joining with the Lords would incense the Courtiers to take some hard Course with him, they refused to go. He notwithstanding goeth with his own Family from Brechin to Stirling, and avoiding Perth, he crossed the River Tay, at that Place where it meets with Almond by Boat, and comes to Inchaffrey, where he lodged with the Lord thereof, but could not perswade him to take part with them for the same Reason. When he came to Stirling he was kindly welcomed by Mar, and the rest that were there, and presently dispatched away Letters and Messengers to Douglas, and other Places for his Dependents to come thither to him, with as great Diligence as they could. He wrote also to Robert Douglas, eldest Son to William Douglas of Lochlevin, to the same Purpose; but the Letter falling into the Hands of his Mother, (her Name was Lesly) she took upon her to answer it after this Manner. It is not enough, saith she, for you to undertake so foolish a Work, whereby you cannot but ruin yourselves, but you would also draw my Son and House to the same Destruction. I have hindered him, and laid my Curse and Malediction upon him, if he take Part with you, likeas I do upon you, if you make him disobey me.

Angus
comes to
Stirling to
the Lords.

THIS Letter moved him very much, and he caused an Answer to be returned to her according as it merited, thus, ' I can very well believe that it is your Doing to keep back your Son from so honourable an Enterprize, knowing his own Disposition to be always honourable and noble, and such as of himself he would not neglect his Duty either to his Friends or Country. The Noblemen that are conveyned here, have entred upon
such

Of Archibald *the third of that Name,*

such a Course as becomes them, for discharging their Duty both to God and Man: What the Event will prove, is known only to God, and in his Hands alone; if we perish herein, we cannot perish more honourably. Yet we hope that God in whom we confide, and whose Cause we have taken in Hand, will work out our Safety, and accomplish that which we intend for the Good of his own Church; when you and your House, for which you are so solicitous, with the Neglect of the House of God, and of all friendly Duty, shall find the Smart of such careless Indifference, and perish, (as we fear and are sorry for it) through such carnal worldly Wisdom and Wariness. And so indeed the Event proved more answerable to this Prediction than he wished: For the Lords escaped into *England* for that Time, and were safe in their Persons, and within a Year and an half they brought their Designs to pass, which were now frustrate, by God's Blessing, upon them: But her Son *Robert*, and her Son-in-law *Lawrence* Master of *Oliphant*, being commanded to depart the Country, as they were sailing for *France*, perished at Sea, and neither they nor the Ship, nor any that belonged there-to were ever seen again, yet how it came to pass is uncertain.

THE most common Report is, That being set upon by the *Hollanders*, and having defended themselves valiantly, they slew a principal Man of the Enemies; in revenge whereof they sank the Ship, and all that were in her: Others say, that after they had yielded themselves, they were hanged upon the Mast. A pitiful Case, but a notable Example. The Youths were noble, active, and of great Expectation, and so great Pity of their Loss. But it may shew us how little Surety there is in too great affect.

affecting of it; as on the contrary, how Perils are avoided by hazarding of Peril. And their Case is so much the more to be lamented, as that they themselves were very unwilling to have followed such perverse Wisdom, had they not been forced to it by their Mother's Impunity.

THE Lords proceeded as they could with their intended Course. They caused set forth a Declaration shewing their Purpose, together with the Causes thereof, the Abuses in Church and Commonwealth. They remonstrated what Tyranny was exercised by *James Stewart*, under Colour and Pretext of the King's Will and Pleasure; how the Nobility and Men of all Ranks were vexed by him; what Misreports were made of them to their Prince; what Violence used against them; what Evils were presently felt, and what more were to be feared and looked for hereafter to ensue: The Distraction of the Hearts of the People from their Prince, and of the Prince from his People; the blasting of the greatest Hopes of Virtue that ever was in a young Prince, and of his Piety in the solid Use of true Religion, by working Fear of the contrary; tyrannizing in Government, and superficial Profession of Religion, yea of introducing Popery, or (which is worse) of Irreligion and Atheism. They told how dear their Religion, their Country, and their Prince was to them; what their own Estate and Condition forced them to; what the Care of all these required of them, out of Duty, in regard of their Place, being Nobles and Peers of the Land, and Privy Counsellors by Birth; how every Man, according to his Place, was bound to lend a helping Hand, but chiefly those of the Nobility, yet not excluding either Barons, Burgesses, or Men of whatever Degree, Rank or Quality, when the common Ship of the

The Lords
Declaration

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

the State was in Hazard, and in danger of being overwhelmed and perishing, and when there was such a Fire kindled as would devour all, if it were not quenched in time. How they, for their own Part, after long Patience, seeing all things grow worse, had now at last (being driven thereto by Necessity) called to Mind what Duty, Conscience, God, and the Station wherein God had placed them, did craye of them; which was, to endeavour that wicked Counsellors, namely *James Stewart* called Earl of *Arran*, chief Author of all the Mischief, might be removed from about his Majesty, after the Manner they could best do it. And since no Access was free, and no Man durst or would undertake to present their Supplications to the King, which contained a true Information of his own Estate, of the State of the Church and Country, together with theirs; therefore they had convened in Arms, not intending any Hurt to their Prince (whom they ever had honoured, and still did honour, and whose Welfare was their chief End and Aim) or to wrong any good Subject, but for Defence of their own Persons, until they should inform his Majesty of that which concerned him, and belonged to them to remonstrate unto him, either in his own Presence, or by a publick Proclamation, that so it might come to his Bars, which otherwise these wicked Counsellors did and would hinder him from hearing: And that so it might come to the Knowledge of all Men, and move such as had true, honest and courageous Hearts, to concur with them in that so honourable and necessary a Work. Wherefore they exhorted all Men that they would not, through Fearfulness, or vain Opinion of Obedience to the pretended Command of a Prince (who then was best obeyed, when God was obeyed, and Wickedness punished

nished, who did then truly reign, when wicked Council was removed) withdraw themselves by lurking, and abandon the common Good, in hope to provide for their own particular Safety, which was not possible for them to do at any Time, or in any Case; much less under such a Man could there be any Security for any good and honest Man, he being so violent, proud, tyrannical, unjust, and such a profane Mocker of Religion, who would not be tied to, or guided by any Law or Reason, but was carried away by his own Appetite and Ambition, and who was more fit to be the Executioner of a bloody Nero, than a Counsellor to such a just and Christian Prince: far less to be sole Ruler and Commander of the Kingdom, under the Shadow of his Majesty's Authority, having so abused and polluted his Name, who was so honoured in his Cradle, and admired through the World for his Hopefulness, and great Expectation of all princely Virtues. Whoso truly loved him, ought to concur and lend their Aid to pluck him out of the Jaws of these worse than wild Beasts, that so his Estate, Kingdom, Honour and Person, both in Soul and Body, might be preserved.

THIS was the Sum of their Declarations and Letters sent abroad to move Men to join with them; but all was in vain; for Despair of doing any good at this Time had so possessed the Hearts of all Men, that even the best affected did chuse to sit still and lie quiet. The Earl of Gowry's apprehending had so astonished them, and the Uncertainty how to construe it, did so amaze them, that all his Friends, who should have made up a great Part of their Forces, as Athole and others, absenting themselves, others fainted and held off. Even Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, a Man both zealously

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

ously affected to the Cause, and entirely loving the Actors (*Mar* and *Angus*) as being tied to them by Blood and particular Friendship, though he was acquainted with their Proceedings from Time to Time; and being Prisoner in the Castle of *Down* in *Monteith*, might easily have escaped from thence, and come to them to *Stirling*; yet did he avoid all meddling therein, and would neither receive or send Message concerning that Matter; yea, they themselves were contented that he should do so in that general Desertion, having gained nothing by their Declaration, save the publishing of their Apology, which was not necessary to Friends (whose Approbation they had already) and wrought nothing upon others. For tho' the King had a Copy thereof delivered into his own Hand (which they greatly desired, that thereby he might know the naked Truth of Things, and be truly informed of the Courtiers Carriage and Behaviour) yet did it produce no Effect to Purpose: Neither did they make any Use thereof that was known, either to inform and perswade the King of the things contained therein, or to reform themselves. Wherefore now their whole Thoughts ran only upon this, how to come off, their Lives safe, and reserve themselves to a better and more convenient Time: So uncertain is the Event of all human Enterprises. The Courtiers failed not to make contrary Proclamations in the King's Name; the bare Shew whereof (though there were but very few that favoured them or their Proceedings in their Heart) was of such Force, that Men convened thereupon out of all Quarters. It was made in the strictest Form, commanding all that were able to bear Arms, from sixteen Years of Age to sixty, to assemble themselves, and to bring with them Provisions for thirty Days, to march whither

whither the King should be pleased to direct them. Hereupon *Francis Stewart* Earl of *Bothwell* came with his Forces to *Edinburgh*, where the King was: But he being Brother-in-law to the Earl of *Angus*, having married his Sister, the Courtiers did not like his Company, and so he was commanded to return to his House. He was indeed of the Lords Faction, and so were many others who obeyed the King's Proclamation, who, if they had had Hearts and Heads, were enough of themselves to have taken Order with the Courtiers. But being daunted with Fear of they knew not what (if they had considered aright) they looked upon one another, and so were forced to guard those Men whom they could have wished to be hanged.

THE Town of *Edinburgh* was commanded to make out 500 Musketers, which they did; and this was the Courtiers greatest Strength, yet consisting of the Vulgar, and such as had no Obligation to bind their Fidelity to them, and, if they had seen the Nobility and Gentry go about to take them in Hand, would not have made great Opposition, nor have hazarded themselves for the Courtiers Safety, in all Likelihood. However Colonel *William Stewart* is sent with 500 Men to *Falkirk*; whereupon the Lords at *Stirling* went to a Consultation, to see what were best for them to do. They had not with them above 300 Men, which were their own proper Followers; yet being resolute and active Gentlemen, it was thought fittest by some to assail him, and to punish his Boldness in taking such Charge upon him, being but a mean Gentleman, to come against the Nobility, Disdain and Courage seemed to approve of this Resolution, that so his Malpertness might be chastised. Neither were it without good Use; for if he were once defeated, the rest would not be so forward

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forward; That the first Success is of great Moment, and might bring Matters to a Parley, or such as craved Audience of the King to get it; that it was no hard Matter to do, he being accompanied by such as cared not for his personal Safety, and had no Tye to defend him with the Hazard of their Lives, but would be glad to have a fair Excuse, and abandon such an one, in such a Quarrel; especially if he were invaded in the Night, the Darkeness would take away their Shame of flying. It was argued on the other Side, That Night-conflicts were subject to Hazard, as well on their own Side, as on the Enemies; and that it could not be performed without Blood, and that perhaps of the most innocent; whereas he himself whom they chiefly aimed at, might escape: Neither would the Defeat of these few bring Success to the Cause, the Enemies Forces remaining entire in *Edinburgh*, which would defend them: Besides, by so doing they should be made obnoxious to the Laws, which as yet they were free of; that it were better to suffer the Guilty to go unpunished for a while, than to spill the Blood of the Guiltless; and seeing they could not thereby accomplish what they had intended, their best was to withdraw themselves, with as great Modesty as they could, having done Hurt to no Man. This Advice prevailed, and so they concluded to march in the Night towards *Falkirk*, but so soon as they were gone out of the Town

The Lords
Ave from
Stirling to-
wards Eng-
land.

of *Stirling*, to take the Way that leadeth to *Lanerk*; the which they did accordingly, leaving the Castle of *Stirling* in the Custody of *David Hume of Argyre*.

BEING in *Lanerk*, as they were refreshing themselves, and baiting their Horses, Word was brought them that a Troop of Horsemen did approach: Whereupon fearing that it was

Co-

Colonel *Stewart* pursuing them, they took Horse, and sent *Archibald Douglas* called the Constable, because he had been Constable of the Castle of *Edinburgh* in the Earl of *Morton's* Time, to discover what they were. He finding that it was *Johnston*, (who had been sent for to *Edinburgh* to assist against the Lords, and was dismissed upon their Retreat from *Stirling*) went familiarly to him, fearing no Harm, so much the rather, because *Johnston* and *Angus* were Brothers by their Mother: But *Johnston* either fearing that he might be challenged therefor, if he should let him go, or to shew his Forwardness to their Service, lays hold on him, and carries him immediately back to *Edinburgh*, declaring what Way he came into his Hands, and what Way the Lords had taken, delivering also *Archibald* their Prisoner to be used at their Pleasure, not looking for such Cruelty from them as he found. For they, partly to seal the Justice of their Cause by Blood, partly to make the greater Alienation betwixt the Brothers, (*Johnston* and *Angus*) that being out of Hope of Reconciliation, he might be necessitate to cleave to their Side. They thank him in Words for this his good Office, and hang *Archibald*.

Archibald Douglas
hanged.

THE Earl of *Angus*, and the rest that were with him, being resolved to go into *England*, took their Way through *Tweddale* towards *Braxholm*; from thence passing through *East-Terriordale*, they entred *England* on that Hand. *Kelso*, where the Earl of *Boswell* remained, was not far out of their Way; wherefore, as they passed by it, it being now Night, he came forth to them secretly, and had Conference with them. Thereafter, as if he had come to pursue them, there was a counterfeit Chase made, for the Space of a Mile, till they were on *English* Ground. The next Day they came to

Ber-

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

Berwick, where they were received, and remained a certain Space.

Argaty executed.

AFTER their Departure, the King went to Stirling with his Forces, where the Castle was rendred by the Keepers, who forced the Captain to yield it absolutely, without Condition of so much as their Lives safe. So he and three more were executed by the Courtiers Suggestion. Here also the Earl of Gowry was brought from Kinniel, and arraigned of high Treason, whereof being condemned by a Jury, he was beheaded. Neither did the Forbearance of his Friends to join with the Lords at Stirling, procure him any Favour; whereas if they had joined with them, they might have obtained better Conditions for him. He was executed the 28th of April 1584. The Points whereof he was convicted, were the Fact at Ruthven, and the late Enterprize at Stirling. His Speech was short; he answered to the first, *That he had a Remission for it*; and to the second, *That there was no Intention there against the King; only they had purposed to remove those wicked Men who abused him, and whose Thirst of Blood, he wished that his Death might quench*. But they cared little for his Speeches, and as little for his Alliance, his Countess being a Stewart of the House of Methven, towards whom and her Children they shewed no Respect at all, but used them with all Rigour and Cruelty. For she coming to intreat for herself and Children, in the Time of the Parliament, and having fallen down upon her Knees before the King, she was troden under Foot, and left lying in a Sound.

His Lady basely and beastly used.

Parliament at Edinburgh. The Lords forfeited,

FROM Stirling they returned to Edinburgh, and there kept a Parliament the 22d of May in which the Earl of Angus and Mar, the late Earl of Gowry, and the Master of Glamis, with divers Barons, and others their Associates were for-

forfeited, the Fact of *Ruthven* condemned, the Order of Church-government, by Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, which had been received and publickly allowed in *Scotland*, all Men swearing and subscribing thereto, and the Oath translated into divers Languages, with great Approbation of foreign reformed Churches, and no small Commendation of the King and Country, forbidden and prohibited, and termed unlawful Conventions. And in Place thereof, the Office of Bishops, (condemned by this Church as unlawful, as an Invention of Man's Brain, having no Warrant of the Word of God) was reared up again and erected. Also Mr. *Robert Montgomery*, (who had been excommunicated for accepting such an Office) was now released and restored to his Place. There was strait inhibiting all Men from speaking against these Acts, against the King's Proceedings, Counsellors or Courtiers, under highest Pains. What shall the Ministers do here? Shall they oppose? That were to cast themselves into certain Danger, and to expose themselves to the Cruelty of cruel Men, armed now with a Colour of Law. Should they keep Silence, hear with Patience that Order blasphemed, which they had approved and sworn to, and the contrary (which they had detested and condemned) set up, to the Shame of the Country, yea, to his Majesty's Discredit in foreign Nations, and suffer a Door to be opened to those Corruptions which had been kept out of the Church both in Doctrine and Manners, by virtue of that Order, which only, in their Conscience, was agreeable with Scripture? This their zealous Hearts could not endure: Let all Peril be silent, where Conscience and Religion speak: Let no Enemy breath out his Theatnings, where the Mind is set on God. So it came to pass here: For
while

Protestation
against the
Acts of Par-
liament by
the Mini-
sters,

while the Acts were proclaiming at the Market-cross of *Edinburgh*, the Pastors of that Town, *Mr. James Lowson*, *Mr. Walter Balcanquhall*, and *Mr. Robert Punt*, taking their Lives in their Hands, went boldly and made publick Protestation against that Act of the Erection of Bishops, as unlawful in many Respects, whereon they took Instruments. Hereupon they being menaced, to avoid their Fury, *Mr. Walter Balcanquhall* flees to *Berwick*, together with *Mr. James Lowson*; thither came also after them *Mr. James Carmichael* Minister at *Haddington*, *Mr. John Davidson* and *William Aird* Ministers of the Suburbs of *Edinburgh*, or some Churches near to it; also *Mr. Patrick Galloway* and *Mr. James Melvil*, with divers others of the Ministry. *Edinburgh* being thus destitute of Pastors, *Mr. Patrick Adamson* Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was brought to supply their Places, and to maintain the Lawfulness of the Office, the 27th of *May*, being *Wednesday*, which was an ordinary Sermon Day, but on which the Courtiers were not ordinary Auditors: But that Day they would needs accompany their Bishop, and grace him with the King's personal Presence; yet the People disgraced him by their Absence; they disdained to hear a Bishop, other than a Pastor, whose Office is not ordained by God in the Scriptures, and was ejected out of the Church of *Scotland*; wherefore, being grieved to see this Wolf in their true Pastor's Place, they go out of the Church and leave him to preach almost alone. Besides the common People, the King's own Ministers *Mr. John Craig* and *John Brand*, also *John Herries*, with others, preached against it, and were therefore summoned to appear before the Council, the 25th Day of *August*, where they were reviled with bitter Words, as presumptuous Fellows; and

and being demanded how they durst speak against the King's Laws, they answered boldly, *That they both durst and would speak against such Laws as were repugnant to the Word of God.* Hereupon the Earl of Arran starting up suddenly upon his Feet in a great Rage, fell a swearing many an Oath, and, with a frowning Countenance said unto them, *That they were too proud to speak such Language to the Council; adding, That he would shave their Heads, pair their Nails, and cut their Toes, that they might be an Example to others.* Then he warns them to compare before the King himself at Falkland, the 24th of September, where they were accused again by the Earl of Arran (then Chancellor) for breaking of the King's Injunctions, in not acknowledging nor obeying his Bishops. To which they answered, *That Bishops were no lawful Office of the Church, having never been instituted by Christ, and that therefore they would not obey them, nor no Person else that would command without Warrant of the Word of God, assuring him that God would humble all proud Tyrants that did lift up themselves against him: As for them, their Lives were not so dear to them, but that they would be contented to spend them in that Cause.* Arran arising from his Seat, and sitting down on his Knees, says to them, *scoffingly, I know you are the Prophets of God, and your Words must needs come to pass; behold now you see me humbled and brought low. Well, well, saith Mr. John Craig, mock on as you please, assure yourself, God sees, and will require it at your Hands, that you thus trouble his Church, unless you repent.* Then they were remitted to the 16th of November; and in the mean time Mr. John Craig was discharged to preach. About this Time (in November) Mr. James Lowson died at London, meekly as

Arran
mocks the
Ministers.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

he had lived. *Edinburgh* had been all this while destitute of Pastors, and did want Preaching at sometimes for the Space of three Weeks. This was very odious amongst the People, and now, Mr. *John Craig* being silenced, they were like to want oftner than they had done: To remedy this, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was ordained to preach to them, and the Town-council ordained to receive him as their ordinary Pastor. The Council obeyed: but the People would not hear him, and when they saw him come up to the Pulpit, they arose, and went forth at the Church-doors.

THE Ministers every where persisted to oppose that Office, and, by common Consent, appointed a Fast to be kept the 24th. of *October*, whereof they publickly and avowedly gave out these to be the Causes; “*first*, To stay the “creeping in of Wolves, (meaning Bishops.) “*2dly*, That God might send true Pastors. “*3dly*, That he would repair the Breaches “and Decayings of the Church, which had “been sometime the Lantern of the World. “*4thly*, That he might remove the Causes of “this Decay, Tyranny, and the Flattery of “Courtiers.” This was plainer Language than pleasant; they behoved to be wisely dealt with. There are two Ways to deal and work upon Men, by Fear and by Hope, by terrifying and flattering; they used both these towards them. We heard how the sixteenth Day of *November* was appointed for their Compearance; many therefore were warned against that Day from divers parts. When they were conveyen- ed, they were pressed to allow of the Act concerning Bishops; and in Token of their Ap- probation thereof, to promise and subscribe Obedience to their Ordinary. To move them hereto, they partly flattered, and partly threat- ned them, saying, That all was well meant, and

and no Hurt intended to Religion: Who was so well affected to it as the King? Who so learned among Princes? Who so sincere? That he would respect and reward the worthy and obedient: And by the Contrary, no Stipend should be paid to him that refused; but he should be deprived, imprisoned and banished. When all this could not prevail, they devise how to temper and qualify their Promise of Obedience, which was conceived in these Words, *You shall acknowledge and obey Bishops according to the Word of God.* This seeming a Restriction and Limitation, as if the Meaning had been, that they should allow of, and obey Bishops as far as the Word of God allowed and ordained them to be obeyed; many took it for good Coin, and were so perswaded of it, that some said in plain Terms, *Bring a Cartful of such Papers, and we will subscribe them all.* For to obey such a Bishop in such a sort, according to the Word of God, that is, so far as the Word of God commands to obey him, is not to obey him at all: For the Word of God commands not any Obedience at all to such a Bishop; neither doth it ordain, acknowledge, or once name such a Bishop. Thus deceiving themselves, that they might redeem their Ease by yielding, and cover their yielding with an Equivocation; they found that it was all in vain; for they were not admitted nor permitted to expound it in that sort (whatsoever their Meaning was) but were forced to accept of the Exposition which the Court and the Bishops did put upon it, who understood that Phrase, *According to the Word of God*, not as a Limitation, but affirmatively, wherein it was acknowledged, that the Word of God did command Obedience to them; and therefore they promised Obedience according to that Command. Notwithstanding all

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

this, divers stood out, and would no ways be moved, neither by Threatnings nor by Promises to give the least Shew of Approbation, directly or indirectly, by Equivocation, or any other Form whatsoever; but spake plainly against them, and prayed publickly for the banished Brethren. Of these Mr. *Nicholas Dalglish* was one, who thereupon was accused, as too bold to pray for the King's Rebels. He answered, *That they were no Rebels, but true Subjects, who had fled from Tyranny, and such as sought their Lives, by commanding them to do against their Conscience.* He was imprisoned, put to his Trial by an Assize, and was cleansed, maugre the Court; so far there remained Conscience in Men: But the Courtiers will not let him escape thus dry-shod; they labour to find a Hole in his Coat another Way; they search, and find that a Letter had come from Mr. *Walter Balcanquhall* to his Wife; which because she could not well read the Hand, she had given him to read to her, and he had read it. Hereupon he is again put to an Assize; and they not daring to cleanse him, yet would they not find him guilty, but desired him to come into the King's Will. He was contented to submit himself to the King's Pleasure (for so much as concerned the reading of the Letter) and so was sent to the Tolbooth, where he remained three Weeks, and was from thence sent to *St. Andrews*.

AND thus went Church-matters; in the Civil Government there was none now but the Earl of *Arran*, he lacked the Name of King, but he ruled as absolutely, and commanded more imperiously than any King, under the Shadow of the King's Authority, and the Pretext that all that he did was for the King's Good and Safety. He had gotten before the keeping of the Castle of *Stirling*, he behoved also

to

and ninth Earl of Angus.

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to have the Castle of *Edinburgh* in his Power. *Alexander Erskine*, Uncle to the Earl of *Mar*, was Captain of it; he must needs favour his Nephew and his Faction; wherefore it was taken from him and given to *Arran*, who was also made Provost of the Town. He was Chancellor of *Scotland*, and having put out *Piscairn* Abbot of *Dunfermline*, he made Mr. *John Maitland* Secretary. He did whatsoever he pleased; if there were no Law for it, it was all one, he caused make a Law to serve his Ends. It was observed, that his Lady said to one who alledged there was no Law for doing of what she desired to have done, *It is no Matter, said she, we shall cause make an Act of Parliament for it.* If any Man refused to do or grant any thing he craved, they were sure to be vexed for it, even the chief of the Nobility. *Athole*, *Cassils*, and the Lord *Hume* were committed; *Athole*, because he would not divorce from his Wife, and entail his Estate to him, the Earl of *Cassils*, because he would not give him a great Sum of Money under the Name of a Loan, the Lord *Hume*, because he would not give him his Portion of *Dirleton*; also the Lord *Maxwell* (then Earl of *Morton*) was quarrelled, because he would not excambe his Barony of *Pollock*, and *Maxwell*, his old Inheritance, for a Parcel of the Lord *Hamilton's* Lands, which were now his by Forfeiture. Many Lands had he taken from many, but was never satisfied, ever seeking to add Possession to Possession; which was not impertinently remonstrated to him by *John Barton* Goldsmith, a free-spoken Man. He had directed this *Barton* to make him a Seal, and to carve on it his Coat of Arms duly quartered, according to his Lands and Honours. This he did pretty well to his Contentment, but he left one Quarter thereof blank and void.

Mains and
Drumwhaste
executed.

Hereof when the Earl asked the Reason, he answered, *That there may be Room for the Lands which your Lordship shall purchase hereafter.* He took for his Motto, *Sic fuit, est, erit*, meaning, That it was an ordinary thing in all Ages for mean Men to rise to great Fortunes; and that therefore it ought not either to be wondred at or envied. And it is true; if the Means had been Virtue and not Wick- edness, which ever was, is, and will be both envied and hated, as it deserveth. His Am- bition was such, amongst other Examples thereof, that Queen Elizabeth must needs be God-mother to his Daughter, whose Ambassa- dor was present at the Christening. His Cru- elty, though conspicuous many ways, did ap- pear singularly in the causing execute Mr. Cun- ingham of Drumwhaste, and Mr. Douglas of Mains his Son-in-law. This Cuninghams was an ancient Gentleman, and of an old House; who himself in Person had been a Fol- lower of the Earl of Lennox, the King's Grand- father, and had done him good Service when he took in the Castle of Dumbarton, and Douglas of Mains was esteemed to be one of the pro- perest Men in the Kingdom, and was a Youth of good Expectation, yet both of them were hanged at the Market-cross of Edinburgh. The Pretext was a forged Conspiracy to have taken the King on a certain Day at Hunt- ing, and to have carried him into England. Their Accuser was Robert Hamilton of Inch- machan, who was, as he said, himself upon the Plot, or at least as he said, had been desir- ed to be of it by Mr. Edmonston of Duntreath. Edmonston being apprehended, related, *How they had plotted to bring in the exiled Lords on Horses, forsooth, which had their Ears, their Manes, and their Tails cut, themselves being disguised, &c.* A Tale which was so ridicu- lous,

lous, that no Man did believe it, but esteem'd it a foolish Fable, yet did they make use of it, to practise their Cruelty upon such as they feared, and to make themselves a Terror to all Men.

To return to the Earl of *Angus*, he and his Associates were removed from *Berwick* to *Newcastle*, in May. So it seem'd good to the State of *England* (seeing no Appearance of their hasty restoring to their own Country) to secure the Court of *Scotland*, by taking that Thorn out of their Foot, which was too near and too pricking at *Berwick*; besides, these banished Lords were not greatly liked of by the Lord *Hunsden*, then Governor of *Berwick*. For he entertained Correspondence with the contrary Faction; either out of his own Inclination, or being directed so to do for Reasons of State, or for both; he so inclining, and the State of *England* making Use of that his Inclination, that by him they might understand the Mysteries of the Court of *Scotland*, and such as guided it. But our Courtiers being rid of the Fear of the Lords so near Neighbourhood, did the freelier vent themselves, and discover their Ways, and by discovering, bewray their Wickedness, and disgrace themselves.

As they went to *Newcastle*, they visited by the Way Lord *John Hamilton*, and *Claud* of *Paisley*, his Brother, at *Widdrington*, the Place of their Abode. There had been some Variance betwixt them, but now being all involved in the same Case of Banishment, it was to no Purpose to entertain and keep in the Sparkle of Discord, and therefore they were reconciled.

BEING come to *Newcastle*, they staid there a while, nor so much to enterprize any thing from thence upon any Ground they had laid

Of Archibald the third of that Name,
 already as to wait for any Occasion that should
 be offered: Here did the Earl of Angus's
 Kindness and bountiful Disposition towards all
 Men plainly shew itself. For hearing that the
 Ministers were come to Berwick, he caused a
 Letter to be writtē and sent to them, from
 them all in common, and he himself wrote
 particularly to them besides, and caused the
 rest of the Nobility to write also their private
 Letters, wherein many Arguments were used
 to perswade them to come to them; especial-
 ly he wrote very earnestly to Mr. James Low-
 son and Mr. James Carmichael not neglecting
 any of the rest, fitting his Argument according
 to his Acquaintance and Relation, and accord-
 ing to the Persons of the Men; pretending
 some such Cause and Necessity of their com-
 ing, as he thought would be most effectual to
 move them; but the true Cause which moved
 him to send for them, was, because he thought
 they all stood in need of Supply of Necessa-
 ries. Besides, he caused one that was with
 him, whom he knew to be very intimate with
 Mr. James Lowson, to write to him for the
 same Effect, and to tell him that he longed to
 see him; and when Mr. James excused him-
 self, alledging that he behoved to stay at Ber-
 wick, because he expected some things from
 Scotland, he would not accept of his Excuse,
 nor of the Interpretation thereof, (that he meant
 of Books that were to be sent to him) but
 caused return him Answer, That he took
 it ill that he should think to lack any thing
 where he was. Wherefore he entreated him
 to make haste to come to him, by doing of
 which, he should do him a singular Pleasure.
 He dealt so with others also, and sought Pre-
 tensions to put Courtesies upon them: David
 Erskine Abbot of Dryburgh, being an exceeding
 honest and modest Man, and who had ever
 been

been readier to give than to take from any, and Angus fearing that he would not, out of his Bashfulness, take any Courtesy directly from him, found out this Way to fasten it upon him. He pretended that he had some Tiches of Lands in Tweddale which belonged to the Abbacy of Dryburgh, for which he did owe him some Arrearage, Duties and Mails, which he would needs pay him, and under that Colour, gave him what he listed to take, without Acquittance.

THE Ministers for a long Time were wholly maintained by him, and he extended his Liberality not only to supply their Necessities, but even to furnish them with what Books they desired to buy. And indeed there was no Man that wanted in that Company, who did not taste of his Bounty. At last when all was gone, for it could not last always, he said to one with whom he was pleased to be familiar, with a chearful Countenance, *Now it is gone, and save it well, I never looked that it should have done so much Good.* Meaning, that being acquired by more rigorous exacting than either he himself could allow of, or the common People took well, by the Earl of Morton in his Regency; for this was his Treasure, at least that Part of it which came to his Hands, he doubted whether it should have had such a Blessing as to have done so much Good to so many honest Men. Neither was this Lavishness in him, or superfluous Waste so to bestow it, in regard that their English Allowance was spare enough, and oftentimes very slowly furnished unto them: So that having occasion to use Monies, and not knowing from whom to borrow any, he was forced to employ one of his Followers to borrow from Mr. Archibald Douglas on his own Credit (for my Lord himself would not be beholden to him, nor use

him so familiarly) two hundred Pounds Sterling, which he lent very courteously, upon the Gentleman's own Bond, knowing well enough that it was for my Lords Use. This was repaid to him when their Allowance came in.

Mr. John Colvill sent to the Court of England.

WHILE they remained at Newcastle, Mr. John Colvill was sent to attend at Court about their Affairs, partly because of his Acquaintance there with Secretary *Walsingham* and others, partly by the Advice of the Master of *Glamis*, whose Opinion and Recommendation the rest did much respect. He fed them with Hopes, and upon Occasion of the preparing and rigging forth the Queen's Navy, he did insinuate by his Letters, as if there had been some Intention to have sent it into *Scotland* for their Behoof, which some did believe; but they could not perswade the Earl of *Angus* of it; he esteemed it but a Dream, as it was indeed no other. When that Hope was vanished, and there was no Appearance of any thing to be done of a sudden, one, whom he was pleased to use familiarly, seeing no great use of his remaining there, told him, That he had a Desire to go to *London*, being loth to spend that Time idly, that there he might the better advance his private Studies and Exercises, as in a Place more fit for bettering himself therein. He most lovingly consented to the Motion, not only to satisfy his Desire herein, but having a reserved Intention to employ him in their common Business, as Occasion should serve, or at least in his own Particular, to his particular Friends; which Purpose he concealed then, but shewed it afterwards. He had almost ever disliked Mr. *John Colvill*, and did many times in private complain, that he could not find that Sincerity in him which he wished, and which he said was seldom to be found in

in any such as he was, who had left the Function of the Ministry, to follow the Court and worldly Business. And for him in particular, he said, he was a busy Man, thrusting himself into all Affairs; and who sought only his particular Ends in doing of publick Business, without Sincerity or Uprightness, which, says he, when it is wanting, I know not what Goodness can be in him; and if it be not to be found in the World, (as they say it is not) I know not what can be in the World but Misery. For mine own Part, my Heart cannot like such an one, nor such Dealing. It is true he hath trafficked with the Statesmen of *England*, and others think fit to use him, neither will I contest with them about it. But this was after at *Norwich*: For that time he said no more, but desired him to write often to him, both concerning Business as he could learn, and other things, as he should also write to him upon Occasion. This was performed on both Sides, after such a secret Way, as they had agreed upon before their parting. For howsoever there was nothing passed betwixt them, but what might have endured the Censure of any Man, yet was it not fit that every Man, into whose Hands their Letters might have fallen, should know all that was written familiarly betwixt them, though the Matter were never so unblameable; in regard that many are incapable to judge of things, many Contemners and Mockers, many of a different and contrary Judgment. If these Letters were extant, there was nothing more fit to shew the Lineaments of his Mind, and most inward Thoughts, and to represent to the Life his true Disposition, without all Mask of Disimulation (from which he was ever free) or Shadow of ceremonious Reservedness, which even the best Men, for some one respect or o-

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

either, are forced, to draw over their Inclinations, and wrap up and obscure their Meaning in it at sometimes, especially in publick: Besides, they would also conduce to clear some historical Points more fully, which neither can one's Memory serve to do, nor can any other now alive, supply so certainly and unsuspectedly. Now we can but grieve for this Loss.

To supply which Defect, so far as they can do it, we will set down one or two of those that were written to him, which being Answers to his, and containing so much of them, as that the Sum and Substance of them may be gathered from thence, will bear Witness of his noble and honourable Disposition.

THE first was written in the first Year of his Banishment to Newcastle, where he still remained as then.

October
1584.

Please your Lordship,

A Letter
from London
to Augustus
from the
Author.

I Received your Letter dated in September. Mr. James hath promised to seek out those Books of which your Lordship wrote to him, and is in good Hope to come by some of them, though it be harder to find them out than it was not long ago. Other Things I hope your Lordship is advertised of at length, by Mr. John Colvill.

[What Books these were, and what Mr. James this was, is quite forgotten, save that it would seem to have been Mr. James Carmichael, whom he employed in things of this kind for most part. But this being only for Show, that the Paper might not seem blank, if it had fallen into such Hands as would have opened the Letter, the main Business was written in such dark and unperceivable a manner, that none could read it, but such as were acquainted with the Ways thereof. And thus it was.]

I have read your Lordship's Letter, and am
 very glad that my Opinion did so jump with
 your Lordship's concerning that Point, whereof
 you wrote that you have not been forgetful,
 and that you mind to hold your Ground as near
 as can be, from which you think that other
 Matter to be so far different, and so contra-
 ry to all Reason, that no Man, as you believe,
 will propound it to you directly. That which
 made me fear that it would be propound-
 ed, (besides the Speeches sounding that
 way) was the End of your Lordship's Letter
 (written before) wherein you make Mention,
 that some thought it necessary for your Cause,
 that ye should enter with them into some strait
 and indissoluble Bond. This I took to be a
 Mean to try your Lordships Mind; first, in
 that General, that afterwards they might come
 to the Particular, which would be, that the
 best Way to make it strait and indissoluble,
 were to have it of your Lordship's Hand-
 writing. For as concerning the Lawfulness
 thereof, it did seem to some unlawful (as I
 wrote to your Lordship at greater length) and
 I had heard also generally that there were some
 Scruple made by your Lordship to enter into
 Bond with them. And because (if I be well
 remembred) before your coming from Scot-
 land, you were resolved to receive them into
 the Society of that common Action, and to
 compose any Particular of your own which
 you had against them, I did the rather think
 that some new Occasion had occurred, which
 had made you nice and difficult to it now.
 And if I have failed in my Conjecture of the
 Cause, it is no wonder that (not having Know-
 ledge of the particular Circumstances whereof
 you now write) I lighted upon that which
 seemed to me would breed greatest Difficulty
 in this. [If it be not so, I am contented to be
 de-

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

deceived, and could wish that every Man's Mind that shall have hand in that Action were as upright as your Lordship's, then we might hope that it would prosper so much the better.

HOWEVER, I cannot omit to put your Lordship in mind of this general Caveat, to take heed, and have a care, that whatever Bond be made, it may be perspicuous, clear, plain, and as particular as may be; for the more particular it be, it is the better for your Lordship, who meaneth uprightly, and for all others that have the same Meaning, and who do desire that their upright Dealing may be evident unto all Men. It will also, being such, be less obnoxious and subject to the Calumnies and sinister Interpretation of the Adversary and Enemies, who may seek to traduce your Lordship, and make you odious thereby. It will likewise be freest, and not liable to the sinister Gloss, and wrong Interpretations of those who shall be bound by it, if they should perhaps hereafter seek any Evasion or Subterfuge to frustrate it, and make it void through the Generality or Ambiguity thereof. And by the contrary, where a Bond is couched in obscure, general and doubtful Words, it is both more easy for them, who list to deal after that sort, to elude it by some wrested Construction; as also for such as would calumniate your Lordship's Intention, to find greater Colour to do it. Concerning which purpose, I remember a Distinction which the Earl of Gowry made, upon occasion of the Bond which your Lordship remembers was presented to him to have signed it: It is (said he) very good and well penned, but it is too prolix to be a Bond, and too short to be a Proclamation or Declaration, for a Bond (said he) ought to be short and general, but a Proclamation or Declaration would contain the Particulars. I was then
and

and still am of a contrary Mind; for I think a Bond should be clear and special, and contain the Causes of their binding; and that a Manifesto or Declaration should be conformable to it, and the very same in Substance and Effect, having the self same Reasons and Narration; only it ought to be amplified with Admonitions and Exhortations, which are not proper nor pertinent for a Bond: And I believe no Man can shew me what Inconvenience can follow upon the Prolixity of a Bond, unless it be the greater Pains of the Writer; which is recompensed with this great Advantage, that being drawn up at large, it needeth no other Expounder or Pleader for it, but doth expound and justify itself. And your Lordship knoweth what great Necessity and Need there is of this Circumspection in this Case, that the very Bond itself be an Exposition and Justification of itself, into whose Hands soever it shall happen to come: For its own Interpretation of itself cannot be rejected, when no other will be admitted to expound it. For this purpose let them that please, read and consider the Memorials of *France*, of the *Low-Countries*, and of *Germany* in the beginning of their Reformation, they shall see that the Tenor of all these Bonds contains ample Declarations of the Causes wherefor, and the Reasons moving them to join themselves together in that kind of Association, as also for what End they did it; so that no Declaration can be more large. But I did declare my Opinion to your Lordship in the like Matter long ago; and I doubt not, but, if it shall please your Lordship to weigh and consider it, you shall easily find how necessary it is, for many Respects, that into whatsoever Bond you enter, it be clear and particular.

WHEREAS it pleases your Lordship to write,
that

Of Archibald the Third of that Name,

that if you can find a fit Occasion, (whereof you also have some Hope) you will cause employ me here, and withall you add, *That none should refuse to further the Business, all they can.* I am not so ignorant, or forgetful of my Duty, as either directly or indirectly to refuse that Service; or any other your Lordship shall be pleased to command me; but I see there are divers others who seem to be so diligent that my Pains will not be very needful, as I doubt not but your Lordship knows sufficiently. When it pleases them at any time, in half Words and dark Speeches, like Parables, obscurely to signify ought to me of the State of Business, they appear and seem to me so deep and profound Mysteries, as I can nowise understand or know what to make of them. Wherefore I am very well contented that I am free of them, and to be a Beholder of all, leaving the managing thereof to those who know these obscure Grounds better, and like better of them than, it may be, I should do, in regard of their Deepness; I had rather employ my Time upon other Thoughts far more pleasing to me, where Duty, rightly considered, calls me not from them, than Business of that Nature. They are not desirous of any Companion or Copartner in their Travels, nor am I desirous to encroach upon their Labours, or the Labours of any Man, or to bereave him of the Fruit of his Pains and Industry, by intruding myself thereupon, and to be a Sharer with him in the good Success of his Endeavours, if they shall happen to be successful: And as little am I willing, if there be no appearance of the prospering of it, to take the Work out of their Hands, which is perhaps marred already; or to enter in at the Broad-side, upon Grounds already laid by them with this State, wherewith I have not been as yet so thoroughly acquainted as were need-

needful for one to prosecute their Work devoutly, and to purpose. However, I do not speak this to prejudice your Lordship, nor that I mean to shun any Burden you shall be pleased to lay upon me; and I am able to undergo, whatever it be; but only to tell my Mind freely, that I had rather, if it were in my choice; your Lordship would employ me in any Particular of your own, which might give me Occasion to visit Mr. Secretary: For your Lordship knows how ill I can trouble any Man without an Errand; and if upon that Occasion he should happen to speak of the publick Business, I should manage the Opportunity the best I could: However, my dutiful Service ever remembered to your Lordship in what I can, in this Mind and Disposition, which your Lordship knows, and leaving you and all to be rightly managed by that God, who certainly can, and assuredly will manage all Things rightly, in whom I rejoyce always to see your Lordship so depend; I rest in him, &c.

THE other Letter (the only extant of many) was written long after, from London also, but to *Norwich*, whither he was then come from *Newcastle*: It is dated the 20th of *March* following, in the Year 1584.

Please your Lordship,

SINCE the writing of my other, the Earle of *Lancaster* hath been most part from Court at his own House. On *Saturday* he returned, and I attended all that Day, and the next Day till Twelve o'Clock, but in vain. At last, when he came to *Westminster*, I got Speech of him with great Difficulty in the Council-chamber, by the means of one Mr. *Baptist*, one of his chief Gentlemen, who professeth to love your Lordship entirely. I delivered your Lordship's Letter

Another
Letter from
the Author
to Angus.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

ter to him, and declared the Credit: It was courteously received, with many loving Words concerning your Lordship; that in that, and all other Things, he would do for your Lordship what lay in his Power; that his Affection to your Lordship was no whit changed, but remained the same that it was of old; and that it should appear he was no less careful of you than he had been before. I went after that to Sir *Philip Sidney*, who so soon as he saw me, of his own accord, (before I spake to him) told me, That he had not been unmindful of your Lordship's Business; that he had spoken of it to *Leicester* and the Secretary; and that he would not forget it, but do in it all that could be done. I wrote to your Lordship before what cold Hopes I had to speed herein, and the Cause thereof: Now I am put in better Hope by divers, that your Lordship shall be licensed to come up, and that the Ambassador will insist against you; concerning which Matter I shall shew your Lordship farther, God willing, at meeting. He is gone this Day to Court, upon occasion of Letters which he received on *Saturday* at Night: What they bear I have not yet learned; only I hear no Word of any Alteration or Stirring in *Scotland*, as it was reported, save that in the general there is an universal Fear and Envy at Court amongst themselves, and in the Country every where, of every Man against his Neighbour. However it be, if I be not mistaken, this Motion of your Lordship's coming up hither, is occasioned by these last Letters; and yet it is said even by some of their Favourers, that they think verily that your Lordship hath great Wrong done unto you: Which Speeches argue but small Hope to prove, yea, or to colour their pretended Accusations, and that they diffide and distrust that they shall be able to do it. And most Men think,

think, that if there be nothing wrung out of *John Hume* by some one Means or other, as there is no Cause to doubt of the Gentleman's Honesty and Constancy, they will have no Subterfuge for their false Allegations, which must needs tend to your Lordship's Good and Honour, clearing your Innocence, and confuting the Calumnies of your Enemies.

I received a Letter by Mr. *James Melvil* and Mr. *Walter Balcanqual*, who arrived here on Friday last, declaring the courageous and constant Death of *Mains*; who gave Testimony of your Lordship's Innocence and loyal Affection to his Majesty, by his last Words. There was no other new Matter of Importance in it, being dated the 18th of February, not long after your Lordship's coming from *Newcastle*. But I shall have no more Intelligence that Way; for the Author is forced to fly hither, having been searched for, and escaped narrowly. He was delated by the Confession of *William Jaffrey*, my Brother *Wedderburn's* Servant, who, being booted, confessed he had delivered him a Letter from me. It is done by *Manderston*, to make it reflect upon my Brother: And he, to recriminate, hath accused his Son *George*; and it is thought he will be able to prove it by *George Hume* of *Cramnickrook*. *John Johnston* is also fled, and great Sums of Money offered for him. This other Letter will shew what Comfort I may expect from *Scotland*; or he, who is now in the same Case. There is sure Word from *France*, that the Duke of *Guise* is in the Field with an Army of 30,000 or 40,000 Men: Some say, against the King; maniest, against *Navarre*, or *Geneva*. So ceasing to trouble your Lordship, I rest, &c.

Our

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

Of our of these may be seen the honest and honourable Dealing, together with the right and loyal Disposition of the Earl of Angus, whatever hath been set abroad, or intended by any other, as it is clear there have been some other Motions made to him, which his Heart could not incline to, nor his Mind dispense with: For certainly this Fear could not arise without some great Occasion; and what it hath been, or whither it did tend, as also who are likeliest to have been Authors of it, though it may be conjectured in some sort probably, yet I will leave it to every Man's Consideration of the Circumstances and Persons who were upon this Course of joining together. For my Task being at this Time to draw, (though with a rude Hand) as I can, the true Draughts of this Nobleman's Mind, whom I have now in hand; I could not omit this Piece, whereby, though there were no more to be found of him, this general may appear, that Duty, Justice and Virtue were the Square by which he ruled all his Actions, from which no Extremity or hard Estate could ever divert him; but to touch upon any other Man, is besides my Purpose, and nowise incumbent on me. But to return. It fell out with them according to this last Letter, for as they were removed from Berwick to Newcastle, to secure the Scottish Court, so Newcastle being not so far from Edinburgh, but that within twenty four Hours, or little more, they could have been there upon a necessary Occasion: The Courtiers were put in Fear by others, or feigned and imagined Fears to themselves, for taking away of this suggested or apprehended Fear, as they had been removed from Newcastle to Norwich, so now

The Lords they are brought from thence to London, as was pretended, to answer to the Ambassador's Accusation, but indeed to advise with him of the

the Way how they might be restored to their Country, and the Country rid of *Arran*, who was now become odious both to Court and Country. It is a true Saying, That there is no Society amongst Pyrates without Justice; for if the Arch-pyrate take all to himself, or if he divide not the Prey equally, the rest will kill or forsake him. The Earl of *Arran* knew not this Rule, or regarded it not; for in parting of the Spoil of these Noblemen, their Lands, Goods, Honours, Government, and Places of Command, he dealt them unequally, drawing most to himself; and in Council and guiding of the State, he was the only Figure or Number, and the rest were but Cyphers and Instruments to execute his Decrees.

THERE were then at Court, of greatest Note, the Master of *Gray*, a near Kinsman to the late Earl of *Gowry*, and of the ancient Nobility, who did hate *Arran*, for that he had been Author of the Death of his dear Friend, seized on his Lands, and did presumptuously take upon him to govern the whole Country alone, being but newly raised to be nobler. There was also Sir *Lewis Ballantine*, of Kin likewise to *Gowry*, an ancient Depender on the House of *Angus*, and Mr. *John Maitland* Secretary, who had been indeed an Enemy to the Earl of *Morton*, and was well contented that *Arran* should be employed to work his Ruin; but he could not away with his peremptory and absolute domineering. These were the Actors and great Instruments of his Fall: *Gray* directly and of purpose, the other two by conniving and being conscious to the Plot, yet so as they would have seemed not to know of it; and they did rather give way to it than work it. They all thought it Reason, that they should at least have their Share of the Spoil in a fit Proportion; but they could not have it anywise.

Plotting against *Arran*.

The Lords brought to London

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

nywise proportionable to their Esteem of themselves. There was besides these, *Francis* Earl *Boswell*, who, amongst other Causes of Discontentment, was grieved at the Banishment of the Earl of *Angus*, his Lady's Brother. *Alexander* Lord *Hume* had been discarded, for being thought to be his Friend; Sir *George Hume* of *Wedderburn* and Sir *James* of *Coldinknowe* were known and professed Friends to the Earl of *Angus*; and *Wedderburn* was of Kin to the Master of *Glamis*, and allied to the House of *Mar*. *Robert Carr* of *Cesford* was also of the Party, what out of Love to *Angus*, what for Emulation with the House of *Farniburgh*, who were on the other Faction. His Uncle the Provost of *Lincolndan* (*Douglas* to his Name) was a special Stickler in the Business; he was very intimate with the Secretary *Maitland*, who without his Advice did almost nothing. But above all, the Lord *Maxwell* (made Earl of *Morton*) entred into open Hostility; for being charged to compear, he disobeyed and refused; and by Intelligence with the banished Lords, he levied Soldiers, slew one Captain *Lammy* that was sent against him with his Companies, whom *Johnston* did assist.

24th October. Hereupon a Proclamation was set forth in the King's Name, That all that were able to bear Arms should come and follow the King, who was to pursue him in Person. These and many others, and indeed the whole Country, agreeing in this Conclusion, that *Arran* was to be removed from the Helm of Government, which he steered so ill; the Master of *Gray* was sent Ambassador into *England*, and had broken the Business with the Lords concerning their Return, and his Removal. Now Sir *Lewis* *Ballantine* is sent up Ambassador with Commission to accuse them of a Conspiracy, detected by *Duntreath's* Deposition: Hereupon they are sent

Sir *Lewis*
Ballantine
Ambassador
in *England*.

sent for from *Norwich*, to make Answer to it. The Master of *Glamis* being of greatest Age and Learning, they made Choice of him to plead their Cause before a certain Number of the Counsellors of *England*, deputed by the Queen, to hear and judge of it. Their own Innocence, the Ability of the Pleader, and the Favour of the Judges meeting together, made them to be easily absolved, notwithstanding that the Ambassador did his best in framing and pressing his Accusation to the full, to discharge his Commission every way. It is a pretty Sport to consider the Proceedings of the World; and what Masks and Vizards Men do put on sometimes to cloak their Designs. With what Respect and Reverence did they carry themselves towards my Lord Ambassador? And with what Strangeness and Aversion did he look upon them? One Day, as the Earl of *Angus* was walking in the Fields for his Recreation, he encountered the Ambassador coming from *Tuttle-fields* in a narrow Lane; ere he came near, he espied him, and knowing it was he, he called to his Servants to give Way to my Lord Ambassador; and he himself standing aloof with Cap in Hand, made a low Reverence to his Lordship as he passed by: The Ambassador again acted his Part finely, remembering his Place, the Person he represented, and the Errand for which he was sent, to be his Accuser, with a Countenance which did bear Anger and Grief in it to see the King's Rebels, he turned away his Face, and would not so much as look on that Side of the Street, notwithstanding that he both loved and honoured him in his Heart, and was even then laying the Ground-work of his Restitution. He being gone home, the Plot went forward in *Scotland*. *England* was no better affected towards *Arran* than his own Country was:

They

They did altogether dislike of him, and suspected his Ways; they conceived that he did prosecute the *Guiscian* Plots begun by *Aubigny*, and which had been interrupted by his Disgrace; and yet they acted their Part also, bore fair Countenance and Correspondence with him, and he with them: But all was but Dissimulation, and like a Stage-play. The Lord *Hunsdon* Governor of *Barwick*, and Warden of the Marches on that Hand, paid him home in his own Coin, and entertained a Shew of Friendship with him, but no more. Divers Meetings they had upon the Borders, and many fair Promises were made by *Arran* to keep back *England* from favouring or aiding the Lords: That the King should be at the Queen's Devotion, that he should follow her Advice in all things; that he should not marry without her Consent, and that he should make a League with her, offensive and defensive. The Master of *Gray*, Ambassador, had promised so much, but when the *English* urged the Performance of it, it was a Jest to see their fine Shifting. The Master of *Gray* put it upon *Arran*, *Arran* upon the Master of *Gray*; and the King professed that neither of them had Warrant or Direction from him to say any such Thing, and therefore he was not tied to make it good; they were too sharp and quick sighted not to see through greater Clouds. In the mean Time it fell out at a Meeting of the Wardens of the Middle-marches, That Sir *Francis Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, was killed, whether by Chance, or of set Purpose, is uncertain. This did alienate them from the Courtiers, and joined them to the Lords, whom they knew to be honest and trusty, and therefore they wished well to them, and helped forward their Enterprize indirectly all they could. While Matters were thus in working,

the

the Lords remained still at *London*, and were lodged at a Place appointed to them, called *Long-ditch*, near *St. James's Park*, whither the banished Ministers resorted; and kept continual Exercise of preaching, praying and fasting, on occasion, in a private manner, without Ostentation or Notice thereof in publick, being done within their Lodging only.

THERE was a Motion made to the Council of *England*, that there might be a particular Church allowed to the *Scots*, as the *French*, *Italians* and *Dutch* have their Churches apart; but it was not granted, they being unwilling, apparently, that being of one Language, our Disconformity with their Ceremonies should appear to the common People. This grieved us greatly, and especially Mr. *James Lowson*, who partly for that, partly because of a Letter written to him from the Town of *Edinburgh*, in which they did reproach his flying into *England* as a Desertion, and did renounce him for their Pastor, calling him a Wolf, who had fled without just Cause, and had joined himself with Rebels, and such other Calumnies as Bishop *Adamson* had indited, and caused the Provost and Town-council sign; he sickned and died, being much lamented both of *English*, *Scots*, and all that knew him. Notwithstanding that they could not obtain a peculiar Church, yet the Lieutenant of the Tower, being acquainted with some of our Ministers, he desired them to preach in his Church within the Tower, which is a privileged Place, and without the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, and many of the People came thither to hear them. Amongst other Exercises, Mr. *Andrew Melvil* read Lectures in *Latin* upon the Old Testament, beginning at *Genesis*, which were much frequented; and the Earl of *Angus* was a diligent

The *Scots* sue for a *Scottish* Church at *London*, but cannot obtain it.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

ligent Auditor, and a painful Repeater of them for his own Use and Contentment.

The Lords
come to the
Borders.

BUT now the Negotiation of their Return being far advanced, and come even to Maturity, *Angus, Mar*, the Master of *Glamis*, with a few On-waiters, take Post from *London*, and came with all Expedition to the Borders. They had composed their Differences with the Lord *Maxwell* and the Lord *Hamilton*; and so all were to join in the common Business as one Man. Before *Angus* came from *London* he wrote to his Friends in *Scotland* after this sort: You have now known by Mr. *John [Colwill]* as I think] that we stay here only till we receive new Advertisement from the Provost of *Lincluden*, in name of the rest of our Friends that should join with us in that Country: After the Receipt whereof we mean not to stay, but immediately to come down; wherefore be ye not unready, seeing others will be forward enough, as we believe. At our first coming we mean to be quiet two or three Days, in which Space I mean to speak with some Principals, and by their Advice to go more plainly to our Purpose. This State will not seem openly to know our Designs; but we are to receive some Help of Money, for so it is promised. Sir *William Russell* shall also join with us as a Malecontent, having been of late ill used by that State, in killing Sir *Francis*, but not as having any Command so to do. If Matters go on, we mind to enter on both Hands. *Hamilton* and *Maxwell* shall enter on the West-Borders, *Angus* and *Mar* at the East, with such as will join with them there.

THUS did it please him to speak of himself in the third Person, howbeit it was written all with his own Hand; but Sir *William Russell* did not join with them. *Angus, Mar* and the Master

ster of Glamis came to Kelfo, and remained there with the Earl of Bothwell two or three Nights. Thither came the Lord Hume, Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, and others of their Friends; and, with common Consent, from thence they went to Jedburgh, where they made their coming known, and professed their Intentions. Upon the Report hereof, Colonel Stewart was sent against them with such Forces as he could get, and came to Peebles; but he found that he had not to do with irresolute and lingering Folks, as the Earl of Gowry, nor with such deserted and abandoned Men as had fled from Stirling, and therefore he retired in due time, to tell Tidings of the Certainty of their coming. They took their Journey towards Hamilton, and there joined the Lord Hamilton and the Lord Maxwell; and so altogether marched to Falkirk. They caused publish Declarations every where, containing their Intentions, and justifying their Proceedings, which are set down by Holinshed an Englishman, who pleaserth, may read them there. The Sum is not unlike to that which was made before at Stirling, only such Things were added thereto as had fallen out since: As namely; First, The proceeding by Cruelty under the shadow of the King's Name, whose Predecessors did commonly labour to win the Hearts of his Subjects by Clemency. Secondly, The executing, imprisoning, banishing (by wrested Laws) the worthiest, most ancient, and the most faithful to God and the King, both Noblemen and Barons. Thirdly, Acts and Proclamations published, inhibiting Presbyteries and other Exercises, Privileges and Immunities allowed by Parliament, or practised and permitted by laudable Custom of the Church; without which, Purity of Doctrine and the right Form of Ecclesiastical Discipline

The Lords
came to the
border

They come
to Falkirk
the 1st of
November
1585.

Their Declaration.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

pline cannot continue. Fourthly, Compelling and forcing the most learned and most religious Men, and such as were of most entire Life and Conversation, and of most sincere Conscience, to forsake their Country; or inhibiting them to preach, and defrauding them of their Stipend by Violence. Fifthly, The entertaining of *Jesuites* and Executors of the Decrees of the cruel Council of *Trent*. Sixthly, Obdurate Papists having place in Session, and honest Men removed; an evident Proof and Presage of Intention to root out the true Religion. Seventhly, The thrusting of Magistrates upon Burrows, contrary to their Privileges, which were neither free of the Towns, nor fit to discharge the place in their Persons. Eighthly, The secret Practices of *James Stewart* and the Colonel, to turn the Love and Amity which hath been now of a long time entertained with *England* (very happily) into open Hostility, having had Intelligence with such Persons as sought the Queen of *England's* Destruction; a Point confessed by divers her Rebels, executed in *England*, and which appeared by the slaughtering of the Lord *Russell*, a Man noble in Birth, honourable by Virtue, zealous in Religion, of great Expectation, and a special Friend and Lover of *Scottishmen*, notwithstanding that they had made Shew of the contrary for certain Months, and had pretended to enter into an offensive and defensive League with her. The Conclusion was, We command and charge in our Sovereign Lord's Name (as his born Counsellors, who are bound in Duty to be careful of his Welfare, Honour and Reputation, for which we have our Lands and Inheritances) all and sundry his Subjects, to further and assist this our godly Enterprize, to concur with us, and

so to give Testimony of their Affection to the true Religion, his Majesty's Welfare, and publick Peace and Quietness of this Realm. It contained also Certification, That such as should attempt any thing to the contrary, yea, that did not take plain and open part with them, should be reputed as Partakers of all Vice and Iniquity, as Assisters of the said treasonable Conspirators, *James and William Stewarts*, and Enemies to Religion, to his Majesty and Authority, and to the publick Quietness of the two-Realms, and should be used as such in Body and Goods. Commanding all Justices and Magistrates, as well the Lords of the Session as others, Sheriffs, and whatsoever inferior Judges, to administer Justice, for the Furtherance hereof, as they would answer upon their Allegiance and highest Perils: With the like Certification to them also, if they failed herein.

The Road of Stirling.

THEY staid at *Falkirk* that Night, being the 2d Day of *November*, and kept strong Watch, being within five Miles of the Enemy. It was observed with great Disdain, that the Lord *Maxwell*, who had the Charge of the hired Soldiers that were put on the Watch, and so the Choice of the Watch-word, gave it *Saint Andrew*, as smelling of his superstitious Disposition, and which was a Contradiction, in a manner, to their Declaration, wherein they professed to stand for the true Religion. But it was rather privately grudged at, than publicly reproved. On the Morrow there came a Message from the Castle of *Stirling*, as from the King, to the Earl *Bothwell*, whereby he was desired to forsake that Company, and either come to the King, or return to his own House, which he pleased. This was a Trick to divide them, and which did so work upon him, that if the Earl of *Angus* had not, partly by Reason perswaded him,

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

and partly by his Authority, being a Man greatly respected, detained him, and fixed his wavering Mind, he had forsaken them altogether, not without great Danger to have weakned the Hands and Hearts of the rest, by such an untimely Example. On such Moments, many times, do even the greatest Business depend. But God had determined to bless that Work at that Time in their Hands.

THAT Rub being removed, they march forward, and about the going down of the Sun they shewed themselves at *St. Ninian's Kirk*, which is scarce a full Mile from *Stirling*, and were seen from the Castle-wall by Friends and Foes. They lodged thereabouts as they could, till near the dawning of the Day; and then, upon a secret Sign given to the Companies that had dispersed themselves into the neighbouring Villages, for better Lodging and Victual, without sound of Drum or Trumpet, they came to their Camp and Colours. The way of assaulting the Town was laid down thus: First, one of the Commanders, with a few Companies, was directed to go and make Shew, as if he meant to enter the Town through some Orchards that lay on the West Side thereof, and at the same Instant, another, (with some other few Companies) was sent to go through the Park, as if they had intended to assault it on that Hand, near to the Castle-hill, while in the mean Time the Noblemen themselves, with the Gross and Body of the Army, marched on the South-side, and passing the Ditch a little above the Mill, going through some Gardens, entred at a certain narrow Lane, not far from the West-gate, where the Way was so strait, that single Men with Weapons could hardly pass it. The hired Soldiers that carried Shot were set foremost, to remove any that should offer to make Head against them. They that were

were within the Town were equal in Number to those that were to assault it without; Noblemen, the Earl Marishal and the Lord Seton, and Barons, who were come, out of Obedience to the King's Proclamation: These had the keeping of the West-gate: But the only Enemies were James and the Colonel, Stewarts, together with Montrose and Crawford, in respect of some particular Quarrels: For Montrose had been Chancellor of the Assize by which the Earl of Morton was condemned, and was esteemed to have been a bad Instrument therein: And Crawford had killed the Lord Glamis, the Master's Brother, whereupon deadly Feud, and divers Murders had ensued on both Sides. The rest, though they did not openly assist the Invaders, yet did they wish them no Hurt, nor make any Resistance against them. There were in the Castle the Master of Gray and Sir Lewis Ballantine, who were suspected by James Stewart, and not without Cause. He knew also that Mr. John Mainland bore him no great Good-will. These he intended to have rid himself of, and to have slaughtered, but they were too strong to do it without great Hazard, and besides, it had been but little Wisdom to have gone about that, wherein if he had failed, it would have been his Overthrow, and though he had prevailed, it would not have freed him from his Enemies without. All he did was, that the Colonel with some Shot, was set in the Street near the West-gate of the Town, which was the Place likeliest to be assaulted; James Stewart himself staid about the Bridge, having the Keys of that Gate in his Pocket, making that Back-door sure for his last Refuge to escape by it. The Earl of Montrose was placed at the Foot of the Castle-hill, to make good the Entry through the Park. The Event was,

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

that having entered the Town through a narrow Lane, they were welcomed and entertained by the Colonel with some Shot in the Street, but seeing that they were resolute, and more in Number than he was able to deal with, he retired to the Castle. In this Entry there was but one only of the Lords Side killed, and it is uncertain whether it were done by the Enemy, or by one of his Fellows, who were so unskillful in handling their Muskets, That their Captain said, That who had known them as well as he did, would not willingly have marched before them. The Earl Marishal and the Lord Seton seeing the Colonel so quickly quit the Field, stood still at the Gate, invading no Man, and no Man invading them. The Earls of Montrose and Crawford, hearing the Tumult of the Town taken, on the other Hand, forsook their Station, and were received into the Castle. James Stewart fled by the Postern on the Bridge, and having locked the Gate behind him, he threw the Keys into the River. The Colonel in his Retreat was followed so near by Mr. James Haldane, Brother-german to John Haldane of Gleneagles, that he overtook him, and was laying Hand on him, but in the mean Time was shot by Joshua Henderson, a Servant of the Colonel's, and so died presently. He was a young Gentleman, much lamented of all that knew him, being lately come out of France, where, (as also in Italy) he had lived divers Years, with great Approbation of all his Countrymen, being greatly beloved for his courteous Disposition. If it were lawful here to bewail a particular Loss, I have just Cause to loose the Reins of my private Affection, and pay that Tribute of Sorrow and Tears which I owe to the Memory of so faithful, upright and trusty a Friend. For the present it shall

Mr. James
Haldane
slain.

shall suffice to say thus much, and let it remain as a poor Witness of some small grateful Remembrance, as long as this Piece can remain, that before him I found not any, and since have known but very few so hearty and sincere Friends, as he was to me from our Childhood, for many Years.

HAVING thus, without any further Loss, made themselves Masters of the Town, all rejoiced at their Success, and with chearful Countenances congratulated their Return. One thing was like to have bred some Stir and Tumult, but that the Parties interested knowing the Lord's own noble Disposition, and how these Things could not be helped, bore patiently the Loss they received, for the Joy they had of the publick Good. Thus it was, when the Nobles and Gentlemen alighted to enter the Town on Foot, they gave their Horses to their Footmen to be held without, till they had made all clear within. While they were busied in assaulting Colonel Stewart, the Annandale Men, and others also by their Example, who came with the Lord Maxwell, seized on their Horses, and went clear away with them, having spared no Man, Friend or Foe, of their own or the adverse Party. It was no Time to follow them, and though It had, yet could they not do it, their Horses being gone. That Day they lodged in the Town, and kept Watch and Ward about the Castle, that none might go forth or come in without their Knowledge. Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan, who had falsely accused Mr. Douglas of Mains, and Mr. Cunningham of Drumwhafte, caused himself to be let down over the Castle-wall (at the Back-side thereof) in a Basket, thinking so to escape; but he was perceived, followed and slain, in the Park, by

Stirling taken by the Lords.

Q. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

They come
into the
King's Pre-
sence.

Johnston of Westerhall, receiving that just Reward of his betraying innocent Blood. The Lord *Hamilton* himself, when he heard of it, said he had gotten but what he had deserved. The Castle not being provided of Victuals, and no Man almost caring to defend it, it could not hold out: Wherefore Messengers being sent to and fro betwixt the King and them, all things were agreed on; and so the 4th of November the Gates were set open, and the Companies entering, the Noblemen presented themselves before the King, in all humble and submissive manner, and did by their Behaviour really confute the Calumnies of their Enemies, who had accused them of traiterous Intentions. When they came they used not many Words, only, 'They were his true and loyal Subjects, ready to serve him with their Blood, and that they were come to declare themselves, and to clear them from those Calumnies, which wicked and seditious Men, that sought their own Particulars, had filled his Majesty's Ears and Mind with, and so made him to be suspicious of them without Cause. The King answered lovingly, 'That it was true, and that he now saw that he had been too long abused; that it was certainly the mighty Hand of God, working with their good Affection that had brought them so through, without shedding of Blood.' And so embracing them heartily, he welcomed them with a cheerful Countenance, desiring that they would forgive and spare the Earls of *Montrose* and *Crawford*, who were afraid to lose their Lives and Estates, being conscious of their own Deservings. This Request divers of the Earl of *Angus's* Friends would have had him to have denied; but he, by a rare Moderation, and to shew how far he regarded the Desires of his Prince, being willing also that
the

the whole Work should be free, not only of innocent Blood, but even from particular, tho' just, Revenge, neither could nor would refuse it.

Thus was the Catastrophe of this Tragick-comedy acceptable and joyful to all except these few particular Men, and harmful to none; which did justify their (unjustly condemned) former Meeting at the same Town of *Stirling*, which if it had had the same Success, had produced the same Effect, as it had the same Aim and End. It justified also those of the Ministry who had fled to *England*, and those at Home who favoured them, that in so doing, they did not favour Traitors, or traiterous Enterprises. This the Earl of *Angus* (above all) did observe, and did often remember this Consequence of the Success, with no less Contentment than the Success itself, esteeming it a greater Mercy from God, to have thus cleared their Innocence, than that he was restored to his own Inheritance. And therefore he did often call to mind, and mention that Speech of the King's, *That it was the very Hand of God which had prospered their Enterprise, and given them that Success without Blood.* For though it may seem no hard Matter, in respect of the general Favour of the Country, yet if we consider what a desperate Enemy, loth to quit such Places as they have enjoyed, is wont to do, it will seem strange that they should, without once striking a Stroke, thus be gone without more ado. But as, it hath been found in Broils, and I have particularly observed that God hath preserved their Hands from Blood, whose Hearts did abhor the shedding of it, even upon such Occasions as Men thought they could hardly avoid, either to be frustrate of their Intentions, or to obtain them with much Blood, where, by the contrary, many whose

Fact have been swifter, and their Hearts less
 careful of it, have, on very small Occasions
 fallen into it. So in this publick Business, it
 pleased God to look on the Hearts of the A-
 ctors, and, according to the Innocence there-
 of, to dispose of the Means of their restoring,
 that their Hands were kept pure from the Blood
 of any. He observed also of the Town of E-
 dinburgh, how it had pleased God to cut short
 their Aid and Assistance which they might have
 given the Enemy, by laying of it waste and
 desolate through the Death of 20,000 Persons
 of the Plague, which had raged there, where-
 by the rest were so terrified, that they were
 glad to forsake the City: For the Courtiers did
 most repose and rely upon them, who were
 readiest upon the sudden, and who, upon the
 least Advertisement, were wont to come at their
 Beck, without questioning the Lawfulness of the
 Quarrel, or Justice of the Cause, but took e-
 very thing as from the King, whatsoever was
 commanded in his Name, as they had given
 Proof before, when they conveyed at Stir-
 ling, having been the first that were sent against
 them; when they were forced to flee into Eng-
 land. This Plague began immediately after
 their Flight, and the Departure of their Mini-
 sters, and increased daily with such Terror and
 Fearfulness in the Hearts of Men, that every
 Man did interpret it to be the immediate
 Hand of God striking them, for their Obs-
 equiousness to the Court, and Contempt of their
 Ministers; and now they being returned, it
 diminished daily, so evidently, that after their
 Entry into Stirling, it ceased, not by Degrees
 or Piece-meal, but in an instant, as it were;
 so that never any after that Hour was known
 to have been infected, nor any of such as were
 infected before, to have died. The Lane al-
 so in Stirling, by which they entred, was whol-
 ly

ly infected, yet no Man was known to have been tainted with it, or to have received any Hurt: Nay, the Men of *Anandale* did rob and ranack the Pest-lodges which were in the Field about *Stirling*, and carried away the Clothes of the infected, but were never known to have been touched therewith themselves, or any others that got or wore the Clothes. They also that were in the Lodges, returned to their Houses, and conversed with their Neighbours in the Town, who received them without Fear, Suspicion or Reproof, and no Harm did ensue upon it. As for *Edinburgh*, before the first of *February*, within three Months, it was so well-peopled and filled again with Inhabitants, as none could perceive by the Number that any had died out of it. As if God from Heaven should have said, Lo, the Cause of my Wrath; lo, the Cause of my Mercy, with the going and coming of his Servants, a rare and remarkable Work never to be forgotten, as he did never forget it. And for my Part, I think it merites to be recorded here, and that it is worthy that the Remembrance thereof should remain to all Posterity, so far as my Weakness can preserve it, that Men may see and learn to fear and seek that God who worketh so great Things, and none can hinder him. A notable Wonder, and next unto that Overthrow of the *Spanish Armado* in the 1588, both in my time, both immediately by the Hand of God: But this, so much the more evidently, as that there, some ordinary Industry and Help of Man did interveen; here, nothing can be alledged to have brought it to pass, but the very Finger of God. Let Mankind advert and admire it: And whosoever shall go about to bereave God of his Glory, by laying it upon Fortune, may his Chance be such as his Perverseness deserveth. Things being brought thus about, who would

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

would have been so modest, as not to have been so far ambitious, as in distributing the Offices of the Kingdom, to have taken to himself, or bestowed on his Friends some Place of Honour or Profit? But *Angus* did neither take to himself, nor procure any for his particular Friends. Let Ambition be silent, and let her Plumes fall, when she seeth herself truly condemned by him. He contented himself with that only which was his own; yea, he even dispensed and forbore that which was his own, modestly tolerating, that the Lands, House, and Lordship of *Dalkeith*, should still be retained by the young Duke of *Lennox*, upon the King's Promise to be restored thereto, so soon as any Occasion should fall out of providing some other Lands to the Duke; which was not done, till the Lord *Meibven*, dying without Heirs male, the Lands falling to the King, he gave them to *Lennox*, and restored *Dalkeith* to *Angus*. Out of the like Modesty and Will, to gratify his Prince in whatsoever he could, to the very uttermost of his Power, at the Parliament held in *Edinburgh* 1587, about two Years after, he dispensed with his Privilege of bearing the Crown, at the King's Request, and suffered the Duke to carry it, with Protestation and Promise that it should not be prejudicial to him nor his House in time coming; and so, with all Meekness, submitted himself to take the second Place, and carry the Scepter. In this last Point it was thought Wisdom to yield, so to disappoint those who were thought to have put the King upon it, of purpose to have made a Breach betwixt the King and him by his Refusal. The former was not effected without the bribing of those Courtiers who did then possess the King's Ear. Secretary *Maitland* got his Lands of *Des-water* to work it; which when he would have

have holden of the King by Renunciation, Angus refused to renounce, and would only give them holding of himself, not without some Indignation on both Sides. It was hardlier constructed, that he suffered a Decreet given in favours of Farniburst, to his Prejudice, to be reserved, and stand good in his Restitution. And thus did he behave himself in his private Affairs.

As for the publick Affairs of the Kingdom, he suffered them to be managed by the Master of Glamis, to whom the rest of their Society were most inclined, for the Opinion they had of his Wisdom, greater Experience and Age; as also for that now he was a prime Officer of State (Treasurer) and allied with the Lord Hamilton, rather than he would enter into any Contest, which might breed any Division among themselves, being set altogether on Peace, howbeit he did not approve of all their Proceedings, and differed much in Judgment from them, concerning the Administration of Matters. So in the Policy of the Church, though out of a sincere Mind and true Zeal, he favoured and affected the right Form as much as any, and was much grieved that such Order was not taken in it as was expected; yet he did tolerate that Course which the rest thought good to suffer to go on: For this they gave out that the King inclined to the Government of Bishops, and therefore it was not convenient to cross his Inclination directly, lest he should seem to be thrall'd in his Actions, a Point which they avoided carefully, and not used with that Respect which is due to a Prince; yet they said they should labour to work him to it in time, taking their Opportunity as it should be offered unto them. And so indeed it was brought to pass; for Bishops were first restrained of their using their pretended Jurisdiction,

Glamis
Treasurer.

on, and *de facto*, even then brought under Obedience to Synods and Presbyteries; and in the Year 1592, the former Discipline was re-established by Act of Parliament, and all Authority directly taken from Bishops. But neither in the former Parliament, holden at *Lindisgow* in December 1585, nether in the next, holden at *Edinburgh* the 29th of July 1587, was there any mention made thereof. This gave Occasion of much Discontentment to the best affected, and bitter Contention betwixt the Court and the Ministry, they reproving this Toleration of that unlawful Office, and the King committing them for their Freedom of Reproof. So no Man of any Judgment and good Disposition was satisfied with their Proceedings; notwithstanding there was none of any Degree, but had a good Opinion, and thought well of the Earl of *Angus*, and excused his Part of it, laying the Blame thereof upon the rest, who, they thought, were more careful of their own particular, than solicitous for the Estate of God's Church. And when I call to Mind the Disposition of Men in those Times, I cannot express it otherwise than thus, That they accused all, but excused him; and yet they so excused him, that they did also accuse him, not for his Want of Good-will, but for want of Action. They were perswaded of the Sincerity of his Heart, but they thought him defective in Action, and would have had him to have taken more upon him then he did. Concerning which Purpose, I have thought it best, not so much to deliver my own Judgment, or use my own Words, in excusing or accusing what might be thought worthy to be excused or accused in him (for what is mine may be more obnoxious to Men's Censure) as to set down every Point according to the Judgment, and in the Words of others, who were

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were present Eye-witnesses and Special Actors in those Times; what they thought worthy to be reprehended, and what they required to have amended, which will comprehend whatever Negligence or Omission any Man can lay to his Charge: for as touching any Fault of Commission, and doing what he ought not to have done, there was no Man complained of him. To which effect divers Letters might be produced, which were written to himself by divers Persons of all sorts, Civil and Ecclesiastical, Scots and English, of the Ministry which had been banished with him, and of the Brethren of the Church of England: But I have made Choice of one for all, which containeth the Sum of all, both Church and State Business, both private and publick, and that in the Author's own Words most faithfully, neither adding nor impairing any thing. To which we shall subjoin his own Answer, in his own Words, so far as our Memory can serve, at least his own Estimation and Judgment of every Point, his Ends, Grounds and Reasons of his Actions, which he delivered in his most inward and private Conference, where it pleased him to open himself, as he was accustomed, freely, and even to the laying naked his very Heart and Soul.

The Letter was, after the wonted Formalities, thus,

HAVING occasion of this Bearer, I thought good to remember some things, especial-
ly that you would, (as you know I intended to have done) purchase in Name of the Country, some to be sent to keep Justice-Courts in our Country, and *Teviotdale*, otherwise all will break. Also let the sitting of the Session be hastied, that such Things as flow from their Restitution may be

be decided; otherwise some Men may be greatly prejudiced and disappointed. As for Mr. John, it is hard for my Lord to help you both (I am still of that Opinion) wherefore, if no Place fall about the King, let it not displease his Lordship that one of you seek some other Course.

AFTER my departing from Linlithgow, I continued in great Anger, whereof I am not yet fully freed, because of that Sentence or Decreet reserved to Farnihurst against the Earl of Angus; and though the Doers be partial, yet I blame most his own Simplicity, (I must needs so call it) seeing his Authority ought to put Order to others, where now he is only a Beholder of that which it pleaseth others to do. But he must either take Matters otherwise upon himself, or undo himself, and all the rest with him. For if the Master of Glamis, forgetting the Event of Ruthven Business, will needs trace the Steps of the Earl of Gowry, it is not for the rest of the Fellowship to be slothful to their own Hindrance. They are indeed at Court, but are esteemed no better Abroad than Beasts in the Country, never like to acquire the Favour of any; but continually declining out of the Hearts of many of their well-affected Friends, who all speak, as though they saw already an evident Ruin of them; and that doubtlesly deserved, for lying in their good Cause, and not vindicating Israel from Aram. Remember whence they are saln, and return, or we shall be forced to lament for that which we shall never be able to amend. If they stick to their Cause, all is sure, otherwise nothing is sure: For either their Surety is by the King's Favour (whereof I speak nothing) or the Favour of the People! This they must have by pressing their Cause; of Noblemen, for relieving them from Bondage, and

revenging their Blood; of Gentlemen and Commons, for purging Religion, restoring of Justice, and providing that Tyranny thrust not itself in again. If this be urged, it will confirm such as are already in the Cause, and will make more to join in it; so shall the Cause prosper; and if Oecasion crave so, there is a Party ever ready to take Arms for it. But if, omitting this, a flattering or a fearful Course be taken, who shall speak plain, and assist such fearful Dissemblers? Who shall credit them, when afterwards, as heretofore, they shall take on the Name of the *Good Cause*? I wish the King's Majesty may be used with all princely Reverence, but not flatteringly fostered in Tyranny, to his own undoing, though I seem to see even now that these Flatterers shall be worthily wracked. I ask them whether they had a just Cause in hand or not? And yet of all these Evils, under the Burden whereof the Country groaned, they have opened nothing at all to his Majesty: Why is it not then justified indeed, by condemning the other worthy to be condemned? Is their Cause already ended? And if not, why is it then left off? Hath it not Enemies? Why should it not then be fortified against them? The Declaration of their Cause, why was it published? To acquire Favour at the Hands of the People? And why then is there nothing done to retain this Favour? Yea rather, why are such things done, as procure their Disfavour and Hatred? I see nothing, but as Men have dissemblingly pretended a good Cause with uncleansed Hearts, God, to discover their Hypocrisy, hath given them their Heart's Desire, but for their further Ruin for their Hypocrisy. I cannot forbear to write this, tho' I be out of Hope of any Good, yet I suppose that such as have meant uprightly, shall, in
God's

Of Archibald the third of that Name,
 God's Favour, be provided for, (though with
 Trouble, when God shall require of those Dis-
 semblers, the Blood of those that have perished,
 and shall perish through their Default, gi-
 ving them a Proof of their own Wits, and
 their unfaithful Hearts: They would not serve
 God, he made Men their Masters. Are Means
 failed him? No; the last shall be worse than
 the first. It seemeth to me that God hath even
 prepared a Mischief for them; and therefore
 given them over to their own Devices, where-
 with they are so drunk and blinded, as Men
 in a melancholick Apprehension, who are past
 all Cure of Physick. But this above all, trou-
 bles me most, that till such Time as good
 Men be all undone, and the Land utterly ru-
 ined, and overborn with Tyranny, it shall not
 be resisted hereafter. For a new Generation
 must arise, that hath forgotten these things,
 before that any who shall pretend a common
 Cause, get Credit. Good Men are so often
 deceived under that Colour and Pretext, and
 drawn on to their Wrack: And certainly, ra-
 ther than I were he, that through Misgover-
 nance and evil Order, should undo so many
 as are like to be undone at this Time, I had
 far rather give my own Life for it. But I speak
 to deaf Men, and therefore I cease, committing
 to God, the providing for those whose Hearts
 he sees to be upright, having from time to time
 kept nothing back of that which I knew would
 make for the Surety of these Men, and the
 Cause, without troubling them with any Par-
 ticulars. If *Angus* could steer in his own
 Room, he might redress the Master's Errors.
 Speak to *Dunnipace* and *Largo*: See what is
 done about the Barons, and give me notice
 of such Direction as goeth to their Shires. I
 say, for Conclusion, their earnest Suit in par-
 ticulars, and Negligence in the common Cause,

convicts them before all Men, and the King may justly say, they had no good Meaning. But if it were mine to do, we should go all together to the King, and say this or the like Speech. Sir, in that ye have, as may be, redressed our Particulars, we thank you heartily, though it was ever the least Part of our Desire; for God's Church hath been heavily oppressed, (then tell him the Particulars apart) your Realm and Subjects have been tyrannized over (then tell him also some Proofs) let therefore the Gospel be restored to its own Liberty, and some Men chosen to set down some sure Policy which may last and continue. Let some also be deputed to hear the Plaints and Grievances of such as have been wronged, under the Colour of your Majesty's Name, and let their Wrongs be redressed as much as is possible, and such Order taken, that the Subjects may be out of Fear hereafter of suffering, so they keep the Laws. Let the Laws also be revised by wise Men, and such of them taken away as be hurtful to the Subjects (for you shall find the like Ordinance touching Acts of Parliament of old.) This being done, we doubt not but God shall bless you and your Country, seeing the neglecting hereof hath been the Cause of the Evils past. Sir, do it yourself, for the Gain is yours, though we put you in mind of it. Now, except this be done, there can be no continuing Quietness.

Postscript,

THEIR foolish Proceedings make all Men to stand aloof. I hear the Lord Boyd is secretly in this Country of Scotland, but feeth not that in them which he could wish. Let the Master behave himself as he pleaseth, can the King but think that he would rather wish his own Sister's Son King.

King. I find great Fault that the Abbot
(Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth) ly aback,
who are Practitioners and Partakers, as
Mar, at Ruthven; let them join together
and be known,

Presented to
Augus.

THIS Letter being received, and a fit Opportunity espied; it was brought to my Lord, and without further Ceremony, I have received here a Letter, saith he, from whom, and from whence your Lordship may see. It is written to me indeed, but not for my sake, (for he knows my Mind) but that I might so inform your Lordship concerning your Estate, and the State of the publick Cause which you have embraced, and you might know what the Thoughts of honest Men are concerning it, what they expect, and what they wish and require. I think it best that it speak for itself in its own Language, let it be your Lordship's Pleasure to read it. He took it and read it, and, after a little Pause, This, saith he, that is here in the Beginning of this Letter may be obtained, this Commission for Justice Courts, and this for our Security, we shall and must needs be careful of. There is next that which concerneth yourself, wherein I am sorry that Occasion hath not served me to express in Effect the Good-will I bore you, as I think I ought to do. And while he was about to go on in that Purpose, the other interrupting him, made Answer, Let it be your Lordship's Pleasure to break off that Discourse: I never doubted, nor never will do, of your Lordship's Mind, which is enough to satisfy me. You know my Ambition. I am content to do any thing; I am content to do nothing. Hope did not bring me to this Cause; frustrating nor Fear cannot divert me. If I can serve to any good Use, I am glad of it: if I cannot, yet I am contented:

mented: It is enough to me that I have been willing, and gone as far as God hath called me: He knoweth how far he will employ any, and your Lordship is my best Witness, that I never did thrust my self into your Lordship's publick or private Business. So far as you were pleased of your own Accord to communicate with me, so far I knew and meddled. I know what Men think, but this shall ever be my Wisdom or my Folly, let who list account it so; yet if I were even aspiringly disposed, how can your Lordship do for your Friends at his Majesty's Hands, who doth your own Affairs with him by the Mediation of Strangers? But, seeing we are fallen upon this Purpose, let it not displease your Lordship that Mr. John retire himself, as you see it is desired here, I will, by God's Grace, run such Hazard and Fortune as may befall me, by being your Lordship's only; to which my Mind, my Liking, and the Honour I have to be your Lordship's Kinsman, and will to honour and do what good Office I can to your Lordship, do carry me; and if so, I can serve your Lordship to any good Use in any thing you have to do, it is all I crave; for the present, let me be bold to ask your Lordship's Mind and Disposition concerning this Letter, what you think rightly admonished, and what you intend about the Prosecution or amending of every Point in it.

BEFORE we come to this, said my Lord, let me demand a Question of you first, and hear your Judgment in a Point which hath greatly perplexed me: You remember the Sermon preached at Linlithgow by Mr. Craig, what think you of it? I remember you told me you did not fully like it: But I would hear you again more particularly to refresh my Memory, because it is greatly incident to this

Discourse
concerning
Mr. Craig's
Sermon.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

this Purpose, and seems to cut short all our Actions. For if the Case of all Subjects towards their Princes be such, what can we do but depend on their Pleasure? the other smiling a little, indeed my Lord, as it is in our Proverb, *It is time to ask the Question*; for if you must depend on their Pleasure, why did you not expect it, and stay in *England* till you were recalled? why came you unsent for? and that in such a manner? What is become of your Proclamations, and of all the fair Reasons of it? You must go back again and recant all, and cry *peccavi* for these Things. Oh, saith my Lord, that is another Question, for what we did in that, was done of Necessity, for our Lives and Estates, and to remove that violent Man, who else would have undone King, Country and all; but now that he is removed, and that Necessity taken away, it is another Case; how to deal with our Prince, to whom we owe such Obedience, he being amongst Kings, *who are in the place of God, who are called Gods, and to whom is due the Obedience to God*. But leaving the Particular, let me hear you of the General, what think you of that Sermon, and of his Grounds? I know there are others also that were not satisfied with it, but I would hear you. Having paused a little, he answered, Loth am I, my Lord, to enter upon that Task of censuring any Man, chiefly a Preacher; I like better to discuss a Truth, without touching upon any Man's Person, so far as it can be ayoided. But seeing your Lordship draws me to it, I confess we all disclaim implicate Faith, and think we are reasonable Creatures, apt to weigh Mens Reasons, and yield assent to their Opinions so far as they enforce; neither ought we otherways to consent, nor can any reasonable Man enforce himself to assent, which makes me, in
matter

matter of consenting (chiefly in Religion) to dislike of Constraint; for I judge of others as I find my self, the World cannot force me, nay, I cannot force myself to think otherwise than my Judgment alloweth of. But to your Question, *I am more favourable to Princes than many believe, and to Monarchs*: I account it a great and heavy Burden, which hath need of great Relief, and many Comforts to recompense the Pains thereof, and can permit much to a good Prince, yea, as much as he himself pleaseth, which will never be more than just, though it were all the Estates of his Subjects, and the whole Country to be guided by himself alone, with as absolute Power as any ever spake of, and yet not think that he had an Hair's-breadth of more Power to do Hurt. But to the Question we are on, your Lordship remembers the Ground that Mr. Craig did lay? Yes, saith he, very well: It was that Passage of the 82. Psalm, *God sits in the Assembly of the Gods*. And what he built thereon? He built, said he, Obedience to Kings Commandments, and Impunity without Controul. Your Lordship remembers right, and reports the best of his Speech in the fairest Terms, Obedience to Kings, Impunity to Kings; whereas he said roundly, *Obedience to Tyrants, Impunity to Tyrants*, which two, who confounds, doth great wrong to good Kings. But whether we call them Tyrants, or Kings, which that Psalm speaks of, who so infers these Conclusions from thence, doth it without Warrant from the Text, the Drift of which is clean contrary; not to extol or lift them up, but to humble them; not to secure them, but to terrify them, not to exempt them from Death (the Lot of other Men) but to let them know that they are subject to it as well as others, and to threaten them therewith. Wherefore let Men build up Power

Of Obedience to Tyrants and Impunity of Tyrants.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

and Impunity to Tyrants upon what other Place of Scripture they please, I dare affirm that this Place is most unfit for it. For here there is never a Word of *Obedience*, never a Word of *Impunity*, but by the contrary of *Punishment*. Oh! but it saith, *I have said ye are Gods*. True, but it saith also, *Nevertheless ye shall die*; which two being put together, the one shews them their Duty, *Do Justice as God doth*, the other threatneth Punishment, *Ye shall die if ye do it not*. But they will say, that this Threatning is from God, and therefore God indeed may and will punish, but Man may not. I answer, The Text makes no mention whether God will punish them immediately, or by the Hand of Man; but however that be, the Scope of the Psalmist is to humble them, and he who from thence doth gather any *Prerogative* or *Impunity* to them, gathers that which is contrary to the Text. Now, to come to the Particulars of the Sermon; to what use was it at that Time to preach *Obedience* to Tyrants? Was it not sufficient to have preached *Obedience* to good Kings? And to have shown his Majesty to be a good King, if he thought that any Man doubted of that Point, which was more honourable for his Majesty, more befitting a Preacher, more easy to perswade, than to root out the inveterate Opinion of the Lawfulness to resist Tyrants? Concerning his Arguments: 1. Was the first solid? *God sitteth in the Assembly of Gods*; therefore Tyrants sit in the Seat of God: Though it were true, yet it followeth not: And it is even like to this, The King sits in the Assembly of the Lords, therefore the Lords sit in the King's Seat. As on the contrary, the King being present, doth sit in his own Seat, and the Lords do rather sit in his Seat when he is absent, than when he sits in the Assembly amongst

amongst them. Also, as I have said, the Presence of God is there mentioned, not to authorise, but to controul them. Neither doth the Text infer, *Therefore obey them*. There is no Word of that there, but *therefore they shall die*, because God sits and sees them, perceives the Wrong they do, and how they abuse their Power, which is a contrary Illation to his, and far more consonant to the Text. 2. His second Argument was, *The People of God are commanded to obey Nebuchadnezzar who was a Tyrant*, therefore all Tyrants should be obeyed. How hard an Inference! Of a particular extraordinary, to gather a general ordinary Rule! If we allow of this kind of arguing, it will be replied, God commanded *Jehu* (a private Man) to slay *Ahab* a Tyrant, therefore private Men ought or may slay Tyrants. 3. His third, *David did not slay Saul, therefore no Man should lay Hands on a Tyrant*. How loose is it? from Example or Authority, negative. 4. But the fourth, *God placed the Tyrant in that Place, therefore no Man may put him out of it, though his Tyranny be never so great*. What do you think of it? A Man's Goods are taken from him by a Briggand, who doubts but God hath given them into the Briggand's Hands? But doth it therefore follow, that no Man (not the Magistrate) may take them from him again, because God hath put them into his Hands? Yea, who knows but God hath cast them into his Hands for that End, that they may be taken out of his Hands, and he punished for it? Besides, this Inconvenience will also follow hereon, if an Usurper shall once get himself Place in a Kingdom, no Man, by this Reasoning may ever dispossess him again, to repossess the lawful King; because, without all Doubt, God hath placed him there. This were a Maxim very

Of Archibald the third of that Name,
 prejudicial to lawful and rightful Kings. 5.
 The fifth was a Simile, which all Men know
 are ever lame, and do halt some Way; yea,
 those which he used, are brought by others to
 prove the contrary. 1. For even Children are
 sometimes made free from their Parents by the
 Civil Law. 2. And Servants from their Ma-
 sters by God's Law given to the Jews; as, *If*
his Eye be beaten out, let him go for his Eye.
 3. Wives are divorced, and freed from their
 Husbands, if the essential Knot and Tie of
 Marrimony be violated; Why then may not
 the Tie we have to Tyrants be taken away?
 If the essential Cause of Obedience, the Image
 of God, Justice, be violated and cast off by
 the Tyrant, why may not the Obligation of
 Obedience cease? And this for his Arguments,
 which you see how frivolous they are. As for
 his Conclusion, *Men may not put hand in*
Tyrants, it can never be deduced from his
 Text: There is only one Word which seems to
 make for him. *I said ye are Gods*; but the
 next Words say plainly, *Nevertheless ye shall*
die, whereby it is clear, that this Appellation
 of *Gods* is not given them to free them from
 Punishment, but to put them in Mind of their
 Duty, which when they neglect, they lose the
 Name, and are liable to Punishment; so that,
 according to his own Reasoning, if it follow
 from hence, that because God hath placed them
 in that Place to do Justice; therefore Men
 should not take them out of it, though they
 prove Tyrants; it will follow far better, God
 appoints them to die, because they do not Ju-
 stice; therefore they must die; therefore Men
 may make them die, when they become Ty-
 rants instead of being Gods. Which kind of
 Reasoning, if he think not good, then must he
 quit his own Reason, and leave this Passage,
 as neither making for, nor against him, neither

exempting them from Punishment, in calling them *Gods*, which shows but what they ought to be of Duty, nor yet giving exprets Command for Men to slay them, in this other Word, *Ye shall die*, which shows only what God will do in his Justice. He alledged, as others also do in this Cause, that the thing which moved him to broach this Conclusion, was, because that if a Liberty to kill or disobey Tyrants be granted unto Men, then good Kings shall not be obeyed, nor sure of their own Lives, because ambitious Men, of which there are many, will call a good King a Tyrant. But your Lordship may consider the Subtillity of that Pretext; for by the same Reason all Laws are taken away, and all Punishment of Vice and Wickedness. For where the Law ordains Thieves to be punished, an unjust Judge may call an honest Man a Thief; and if we allow Blasphemy to be punished, a *Jezebel* will find Means to cause *Naboth* be accounted a Blasphemer; and if we suffer Sedition to be punished, Tyrants will call a good Patriot, a seditious Fellow; free Admonitions, Treason; and any Word of Liberty, Rebellion. Shall therefore Sedition be punished? Shall Theft? Shall Blasphemy? And certainly there is more Danger, and it comes oftner to pass, that a Tyrant should call an honest Man seditious, than it is found that Subjects call a good King a Tyrant. The People suffer much, what by Custom, what through a natural Inclination and Love towards their Princes, and bear with many great Faults, and seldom rise up against him, but when the Injury is intolerable. And you shall find, when you please to try it, that they have comported oftner with wicked Princes, than ever they have made Insurrection against good ones; nay, than they have made against the Wicked, unless their Wickedness

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hath been extreme enormous and pernicious; yea, I doubt whether any can find an Example of Insurrection against any that was good, nay, against any tolerably wicked; whereas on the other Side, many honest Men have been oppressed and put to Death by Tyrants, upon small or no Occasion, upon a forged Accusation, Lie, or Calumny: Wherefore it is a foolish and ridiculous Pretext, to maintain Obedience, and the Impunity of Tyrants, that so good Kings may be secured; as if a Man should plead for Impunity to Harlots, that so honest Matrons may be secured. All is but Folly, for there is but one Way to secure honest Women, which is to avoid whorish Fashions; to secure honest Men, to take heed they be not found breaking Houses. And let a good King carefully avoid all tyrannical Actions; so, and only so, shall he be sure, if Word and Work justify him, and free from all Fear of punishment from God or Man. And thus much concerning your Lordship's Question, What my Opinion is of that Sermon?

Bodinus his
Absurdity.

BUT seeing we are fallen upon this Subject, let me tell your Lordship, how Men, while they labour to put a good Face upon this Matter, wavering betwixt Flattery of Princes, and Truth of Reason received, and allowed by the common Consent of all Men against Tyrants, involve themselves into many Absurdities. I will bring one Instance for all, and that is; *Bodinus* a Frenchman, in his Book *de Republica*, saith would he make even Tyrants to be inviolable, and perswade that all Obedience is due and ought to be given them. And he concludes, that they are not to be touched by their Subjects, but obeyed; whereof he gives this for his chief Reason, because their Subjects have no Jurisdiction over them; yet finding how hard it were to free them from all

Fear

Fear of Punishment, he puts them into the Hands of foreign Kings, and exhorts them to exterminate them, commending it as a laudable Action, by the Imitation of *Hercules*, who travelled through the World, says he, to destroy these Monsters, Tyrants. Now let any Man judge what good Reason can be given for denying that Power to the Country itself, under the Pretext, because they have no Jurisdiction, and to give it to a Foreigner, who hath neither Interest nor Jurisdiction over another Prince; and whether is there more Danger in the Sedition of his Country People, than in the Ambition of a Stranger? And which of them is likeliest to pick a Quarrel against him, and to call him a Tyrant, and seek Occasion to work their own particular Ends? Besides, what shall be the Part of the People in this Case? Shall they fight against this Foreigner, who comes to cut off their Tyrant? Who then shall come to relieve those from Tyranny, that will take Arms for Defence of the Tyrant? Shall they join with him? Certainly in all Reason they ought to join with him, seeing it is for their Sakes that he undertakes the War. But that is Rebellion, if we believe *Bodinus*. Shall they be neutral, and Spectators? Even that is Disobedience. And yet the same *Bodinus* says, That Tyrants are Monsters: Now there is no Society, far less Bond of Obedience and Subjection, with Monsters. Yea, he says, That there is no Society with Pyrates, because they break the Laws of human Society, and Tyrants break them much more. This same Man, in his *Demonomania*, says, That a King may become a Wolf, and that a great King in Christendom was one when he pleased. I ask him then, Whether such a King should be obeyed, when he is a Wolf? And if he should ever continue to be such, without

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returning to be a Man, whether or not must he be ever obeyed in all things? Shall his sacred Majesty be revered? And lest he should starve, shall he be fed with Childrens Flesh, perhaps because he will eat no other, or at least because he likes that best? Certainly his Reason will infer no less than that he should. And if he be ashamed to affirm this, and will confess that it is lawful to put such an one from his Kingdom, who hath put off human Nature, and can now no more guide a Kingdom. What shall we think of one, who, tho' retaining the Shape of a Man, hath a wolfish Disposition, being cruel and licentious? And is not a Tyrant, for the like Reason, as worthy to be deprived of that Kingdom which he will not guide rightly, but destroys. Certainly the Reason is all one; for it is not the Shape so much of a Wolf that Men abhor, as the ravenous Disposition: For suppose a good King were, contrary to his Will, transformed by magical Incantation only, into the Shape of a Wolf, who did retain his Reason, Equity, Meekness, and all good Government, omitting nothing that belonged to a good Prince, Men would not so much abhor as pity him, and expect till some way were found how he might recover his former Shape, and would doubtless prefer his human Nature, though in the Shape of a Wolf, to a wolfish Nature, though under the Shape of a Man; it being far more tolerable, and far more advantageous for the Commonwealth, whereof the Good and Safety is ever to be preferred in all things. And thus much for *Bodinus*.

BUT will your Lordship be pleased to hear what that great Doctor of the Laws, a professed Patron on Princes, in his Book which he wrote of Purpose for their Defence, I mean what *Blackwood* says concerning this Question?

It

It is, says he, an absurd thing to affirm, That a Prince's Commandment should or may be disobeyed; yet if a Prince command any thing that is unjust, it must not be obeyed. But how shall we do then? Even this, says he, when the Commandment is unjust, we must suppose that the Commandment is not the King's Commandment; but either that it is, 1. Some feigned and forged Thing under his Name; 2. Or stoln from him at unawares; 3. Or that being busied some other Way, he did not take heed to it. 4. Or that he hath been ill informed; 5. Or mistaken it; 6. Or that he is misled and miscarried with some Passion or Prejudice. So in the Point of controlling Princes, he cannot endure that the sacred Majesty, God's Vicegerent, should be constrained any way, that is absurd and abominable: Yet if he misgovern the Country, so that the State of the Common-well be in Danger, the Blame must be laid on his evil Counsellors; those they may lay Hands on, and take Order with, nay hang them, if they please, and place good Men about him, whose better Advice he may follow; but by no means must they meddle with himself in Person. This Opinion is such, that I believe he against whom he writes, hath not written any thing that may seem more hard: For if we may call his Commandments, when they are unjust, stoln, and so disobey them: we are not bound to obey his unjust Commandments: And if we may take order with his Counsellors, who will be his Counsellor? Or who will execute his unjust Will? Nay, how can Subjects do either of these two, without a manifest controlling and forcing of him, since he will oppose and interpret all as done against himself, and call it Rebellion against him? So that in effect all comes to one. Besides, this way leaves that

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Ground, (which Men so carefully pretend to avoid) which is, to call all his Commandments stoln (though they be never so clearly his) and albeit they be never so good, as also of calling his Counsellors evil, though they be not so. Whereby he makes them Judges both of his Commandments and Counsellors; so that they may call it in Question whether they be good or not; which doth brangle and indeed overturn all that absolute Power which he gave them before.

Of active
and passive
Obedience.

I will not here omit to tell your Lordship of another Distinction that some use against unlawful Commandments: They grant that we should not give them active Obedience, that is, that we should not do the thing commanded, but that we should yield passive Obedience, that is, suffer what Punishment the Prince shall be pleased to lay upon us, for our refusing to do what he commands, whether it be a pecuniary Mult, Imprisonment, or Death itself. But if this be rightly weighed in the Balance of Reason, if the Commandment be unlawful, the Punishment inflicted for refusing to obey it is also unlawful, and the commanding of us to undergo that Punishment is likewise unlawful: Therefore there is no Necessity of Obedience to that Command, according to *Blackwood's Rule*; for it is not the King's, it is stoln: Therefore, if a Tyrant command a Thing unlawful, under the Pain of paying a Sum of Money, a Man is no more bound to pay the Money, than he is to obey the Commandment, for both are unlawful. Far less is he bound to submit himself to a corporal Punishment, or to lay down his Life, or to enter into Prison, which takes away his Liberty, as dear to him as his Life, and doth oftentimes endanger both his Life and Goods by Consequence. If, I say, he can get these things avoided, he is not bound in Conscience

to undergo them, but may lawfully shun them. What he is to do when he cannot eschew these things, is not a Case of Duty, but of Prudence: for that same Question will come to be considered, when a Man hath to do with a Robber, to whom he owes no Obedience, if he be not able to resist him, how far he shall yield to him. Let us put the Case then, That a Tyrant would, for our disobeying of his unlawful Commands, invade us his Subjects by Arms, we are not so bound to him, but we may avoid the Blow; nay, the Subject, in this Case, may ward the Blow, and put by his Prince's Weapon, he may hold his Hands, if it be necessary, and if he cannot otherwise save himself. And what will these that stand for Passive Obedience answer to those that suppose this Case, That the Prince and his Subjects were in a Ship, and the Prince should command a Leak to be made in the Ship, by which the Water might come in, and drown both them and himself? They will perhaps say, that they would not do it although he should command it. But would they give him a passive Obedience? Would they suffer him to kill them for their Refusal? Would they give him Leave to do it? Or would they set aside such Ceremony, and stay him from it calmly, put the Augre or Wimple out of the Way, or keep it from him? Hold his Hands, or if there were need, even bind him rather, so to save themselves and him. Which if it be lawful to do for preserving a private Ship, what shall be said of the Bark of the Commonwealth, I pray you, if a Tyrant do such things which will cast it into Danger of drowning.

Now the Ground of all this, 1. That Tyrants must be obeyed; 2. That they must not be controlled nor resisted, but get ever a passive Obedience. 3. That they must no ways

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be deprived, and far less touched in their Persons, is in this sort, *That they are Gods*; which Name, as they alledge, infers all these, Obedience, not Resistance, nor depriving, &c. And indeed, to be God, carries more in it; it imports both active and passive Obedience to whatsoever he commands without Exception, to kill his Son with *Abraham*, for each Man to kill his Brother, as the *Levites* did. But how far these called Gods, come short of that Privilege, notwithstanding the Name, I have said before; and therefore this Appellation will not import any of the rest by any necessary Consequence, no more than it doth absolute active Obedience: Neither are Princes there compared to God, because of equal Obedience due to them, but because of the Likeness of the Action, and to warn them to imitate him in Justice. And to draw an Argument from a Comparison of things, to prove an Equality in them, in that wherein they are not compared, is against the Law of Comparisons. 2. Those who dispute in this sort, speak only of absolute Monarchs, as they call them, but the Name of Gods, is not only given to absolute Monarchs; it is given to the Judges of *Israel* before they had Kings: And the *Turks* use at this Day, when they go to Law, this Phrase, *Let us go to God*; by which they mean, not their absolute Monarch the Emperor, but any inferior Judge, even the meanest, as no question but even a Sheriff's Depute, or a Baron's Baillie sit in the Place of God, when they sit to do Justice betwixt Parties; yet no Man for that doth attribute absolute Power to them.

BEHOLD the Ground of your Lordship's Cause, and of this so worthy an Action done by you, of rare Example in any Age: Lo what you have been; not disputing in the Schools,
but

but practising in the Common wealth. For if it be not lawful to disobey the Command of Princes (even of lawful and born Princes) in any Case, then is this that you have done very unlawful. If it be a Wrong to controul their Wills, then must this your Fact be condemned as wrong. If it be not lawful to remove from them wicked Counsellors, then is this your Act altogether unjust and unlawful. But the World acknowledges, all Men assent, and the Prince himself confesses, that you have happily atchieved a worthy Work, in freeing your King from the Jaws of these Wolves who polluted his Name and Fame; that you have restored him to his Honour, and that high Expectation of him to his Country and to the Church of God throughout the whole World.

THERE rests only this Exception, whether or not this hath been your Aim in very Deed, and the true End of your Enterprize, or if this be but adventitious to your own particular Designs. For it is sure, your Particular was joined with it; but that is no Fault: Yea, I account him happy, whose Lot joins his Estate with an honest Cause; so that they must stand or fall together, or whose Mind and Resolution casts him upon it. But it is of great Weight, and makes a great Difference, when the Cause is our End and (our particular but Accessory, or contrarily) when our particular is the main Motive, and the common Cause but a By-end, and embraced only to advance our Particular. Your Declaration which ye published, speaks much of the publick Cause and common Weal; but you may perceive what Men think, how your Actions since do not answer thereto, by this Letter: For they are begun to think, that howsoever you pretended the Publick, yet your Intention was fixed only on your own Particular; because you have

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have done nothing for the Church or Country, and have settled your own Particular. And it is observed, That of all the Parliaments that were ever held in this Country, this last, held since you came home, is it, in which alone there is no mention of the Church, either in the Beginning thereof (as in all others there is) or elsewhere throughout. This Neglect of the State of the Church and Country, as it is a blemish of your Fact, obscuring the Lustre of it; so is it accounted an Error in Policy, by so doing, to separate your Particular from the common Cause of the Church and Country; which, as it hath been the Mean of your particular Restoration, so is it the only Mean to maintain you in this Estate, and to make it sure and firm.

Angus answered,
fwereth.

He having thus spoken, the Earl of Angus answered, I know that Question stands yet undecided betwixt those that stand for Tyrants, and those that are against them, and is disputed by Lawyers on both Sides, as what is not disputed and called in question by them? I see also there hath been continual Practice of both ways; and the Practice hath been allowed or disallowed according to the Success, the Nobility calling it Tyranny and Misgovernment, and the Prince calling the controuling of him, Sedition, Rebellion and Treason. But if Dr. Blackwood say that which you say, he touches the Point very right, and the Fashion of our Country, whose ordinary Custom hath ever been such, to take Order with wicked Counsellors, carrying all Respect to the Prince, and as much Reverence as ever any Nation did. Yet that beginning with the Counsellors drew many at last by Necessity to betake themselves directly to their Prince himself, when he would needs espouse their Quarrel, and either to protect and maintain them,

or to revenge them. So that if Blackwood say that it is lawful to punish wicked Counsellors, he must confess also that it is lawful to controul Kings. Neither is he aware, that in so saying, he makes the Nobility or Estates, Judges to discern whether the Counsellors be wicked or not, and whether their Proceedings be for the Good of the Country, which he will alledge they are, and that both themselves are good Servants, and their Service good and profitable to him and the Country; and these Actions which they do, and the Counsel which they give, that they do them as his Servants, and by his Direction, as Counsellors advising and propounding Things, not prescribing or enjoining; and therefore what is done against them, is not done against them, but against him; and that they are not wicked, but good and faithful Men. Now the Case standing thus, to whomsoever he allows the Power to put Order to them as wicked, he allows them also Power to cognosce of them as wicked, to judge of them as wicked; and that contrary to the Judgment of their Prince, who will never judge them such. And indeed, unless it be so, when wicked Men shall wind themselves in about a Prince, and abuse his Name, or pervert his Mind, how shall the Prince be preserved? How shall the Country, the State, Religion, Laws, Order, and particular Men's Estates be saved from Ruin? as hath been profitably and necessarily practised divers Times before in this Kingdom, and of late by us upon a flat Necessity for his own Good, and the Good of the Country. And for my own Part I will answer for one, and can answer but for one, his Good did as much move me to that Course, as any private Interest of my own; and I still shall as much regard it, by God's Grace, so long as this weak

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weak Life is in my Body. I know not how long that will be, and who lives longest, lives but a short time; and I account not that he lives; who lives only to live this Life, or to enjoy any thing that is in it. This Lesson I have learned substantially (so my God hath schooled me) and I speak it to you seriously knowing to whom I speak. Neither shall ever any Endeavour of mine have any Particular for the last End of it. That all is not so well done, and so clearly to the Satisfaction of the Ministry, and all honestly affected, it grieves me as much as any, and I am not ignorant that these Inconveniencies follow thereupon, That we undergo the Slander of respecting our Particular, of Carelessness of the Church and Country, as though all our Speeches and Proclamations tending that Way, had been but Pretexs, and that if ever any such Business should fall out again, our Credit will not be so great: Yet, not for these Causes, but for the Well-doing itself, my Desire is, that every thing be rightly done, because it is right so to do. But what can I help it? I am but one of the Society, neither can I perswade my Associates to do otherwise, nor am I able to compel them, nor were it fit I should, it not being the Law of a Society to do so, but to do all with common Consent, and to obtain what may be obtained by a fair Way, but to go no further; otherwise it would quickly dissolve into divers Factions amongst ourselves, and make some of us join with others, to the Overthrow of us all; which, if ever it come to pass, it shall never be through any Occasion from me. Men think, I know, that my Place is a principal one; yet it is but the place of one; neither is it so principal, but that there is as principal as it, equal to it, or perhaps beyond it, in respect of Proximity to the Kingdom,

dom, if it should fall out so, which God forbid it should. For no King, you know, can ever be so near to me, and therefore there is none whom I should or will affect so much. And this is it that carries it away from me, and gives them no little Advantage: The Lord *Hamilton*, being next the Crown, is guided by the Master of *Glamis*; and the Master delights to be deep in his Counsels, and pleaseth himself in this form of managing Affairs, which you see is now used. I have many Times told him, and others also, my Opinion, but cannot bring them to it. If I should take a Course to force them, how dangerous were it? yea, what Concurrence or Assistance should I have? or, of whose Friendship could I assure myself? *Maxwell*, you know what his Respects are, and what Religion he is of. I can never forget the Watch-word he gave at *Falkirk*, whereby he did plainly profess his Disposition to Superstition, *St. Andrew* was it. And who knows what Intention he hath to retain the Title of the Earl of *Morton*. As for your Chief the Lord *Hume*, dare we think better of him? My Brother-in-law, the Earl of *Bothwell*, how uncertain is he? What ado had I to retain him at *Falkirk*? And what Trouble have I still to keep him in good Order? There is only one, of whose Stedfastness and Friendship I dare assure myself, as much as of myself, who is loving, faithful and constant, and that is the Earl of *Mar*; yet he hath been so tossed with Troubles already, that he is loth to intangle himself a-new, if it can be avoided any Way. And why should not I be as loth to put him to any Hazard, or to occasion any Trouble to him contrary to his Disposition? God forbid but that I should be as careful of him as he is of himself.

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AND concerning their Proceedings; as I do not approve them altogether, so dare I not condemn them altogether. We have to do with our Prince: What should we not do to gain him by all fair and gentle Means? We ought not to thrall his Will, but to draw it easily to a better Temper; and not so much oppose him, as by complying with his Inclination a little, to wind him from that ill Course he hath been set upon. He desires to be at Liberty, and to be known to be so, and it approves and justifies our Proceedings to have it so, and testifies to him and to the World our Love and Obedience, and what our Minds have been from the beginning towards him. He promisetli not to withdraw himself from us, to join with others: Our trusting of his Promise will deserve that he should continue with us, and will gain his Affection; which is a surer Bond than a Guard placed about him, which would entertain mutual Suspicion, and move him to seek Means of freeing himself from us: And hardly could any Guard be so kept, but that one set to escape might find a Way for it; not to speak of the Charges that were required to entertain it. Neither need we to fear much, though he had a Mind to forsake us; for we know who would or could be our Party, and what Forces they have. That there are some suffered to remain about him who are no good Friends to us, nay, who have been evil Instruments against us, proceeds from the same Ground; for it is done, that himself and others may see his Liberty, and what Confidence we have in him. That the State of the Ministry is not brought to that Point which we wish: We cannot get it done suddenly, except we will directly force his Will; and how many would agree or concur to that? But we hope to work it with his own Consent in time; for
the

the Ministry insist in their Right, and he commits them; and we intercede and mitigate his Anger so far, that it proceeds only to a short and easy Confinement. In the mean time they have Leisure to inform him, and he of himself will be wearied with such continual Opposition, and will give way to settle such a Course as they desire; and so it will be better and more durable than if it should now be extorted from him by any Show of Compulsion. These be the Grounds upon which such as think themselves very wise amongst us build their Work; which though it be not so framed as to give every Man present Satisfaction, who knows not what their Way is, or if they knew, allows not of it, yet when they shall find the Effects thereof, they will think better of them. Neither are they afraid to want the Assistance of such as are honestly affected, in case we should be assaulted by any; for they cannot betake themselves to any other, having none else from whom they can look for any Good in the least Measure; nay, who is there besides that hath not a very bad Meaning? And we, though we do not all the Good they would, yet are we doing somewhat, and keep off much Evil; and therefore they will rather take part with us, than suffer all to go to Wreck. You may happily think that you have much to say against this: But, as I said before, though I approve not all, yet I do not condemn all; so I say now, though I report all, yet I do not approve of all; and do confess that we should do much more, and it were better if we could agree to it, and be all of one Mind. Yet this is the Wisdom of our deepest Politicians, whom I am resolved not to press any more; but to take my Hazard amongst the rest; and I do hope God will provide for me as well as for them, and that my Part shall be

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as well known every way to honest Men : And therefore we will have no more Objections nor Reasoning at this Time.

WELL, my Lord, (said the other) we shall reason no more of this Subject. Indeed your Lordship's Part is best interpreted, save that they think that your Authority should be of greater Moment, as you may see by this Letter, and that you should rather go before all than follow any. This one thing give me Leave to remember concerning the King; He is the most apparent Instrument that is in *Europe*, and so in the World, of whom we can expect greatest Good to the Church of God, as being the only King that hath been bred in the Purity of Religion, and therefore of great Expectation; and because of this Expectation, greatly beloved of all true Professors of Religion every where. He is of a great Spirit, Judgment and Learning. Great Pity therefore it were that such an one should be lost, either through Corruption creeping into his own Mind, or by the poisonable Suggestions of others. You do therefore exceeding well to entreat him gently, and deal with him in an humble and submissive manner : Which is the way to tame and gain even wild Beasts; far more is it like to prevail with reasonable Men, and most of all with Princes, who in respect of the Height of their Place, are not to be violently enforced : Which were the way to spoil them; as they write of *Alexander's Horse Bucephalus*, whom *Philip's* Riders could not manage by Force of Bridle, but *Alexander*, by stroking and making much of him, made him manageable. And if ever you intend any great Enterprize in this Country, or in *Europe*, behold the Mean, use it wisely, and the Lord of Heaven give Success. But this, I hope, may be suggested to your Consideration, that you would

would weigh with yourselves, and see whether or not this Obsequiousness (so to term it) be the only Mean to be used towards him, smoothing all, and allowing all; never mentioning the Abuses that have been, and yet are in this Country: Or if it be not fit also to remonstrate freely, though reverently, what hath been, or perhaps yet is amiss in Religion and the Common-wealth, in some such Form as is set down here in the End of this Letter. And whether it be fit or tolerable for the gaining of him to a right Course, that such Men as have no good Meaning, have his Ear, and be his most inward Counsellors. Now I fear me greatly, that the Mean by which they have perverted all, and which may be still used to pervert all, and whereby they have gained most upon his tender Age, is the Eye he hath to our neighbouring Kingdom of *England*, upon which his Mind is greatly set, and to which, no question, he hath the Right of Succession; yet hath he need of Assistance to obtain the Possession thereof. And they perswade him, as he may also think of himself, that this cannot be done without Help from the Papists in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and from *Rome* itself; and that the Way to make them to be for him, is to put them in hope of him, by perhaps a present Toleration, countenancing and advancing of their Religion. And this, he may think, cannot stand with the Purity of Discipline and Government of our Church, which may make him the more averse and hardly affected towards it, and think it fit to curb it, and so the more to incline to Episcopacy; by which, as he shall more please the Statesmen of *England*, so shall he be able the more to restrain our Preachers, and their Freedom of Speech, and the more freely traffick with Papists, and so make use of all sorts of People, because he may think all
sorts

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

forts necessary for his Ends. Whereas indeed none of these are of great Consequence: For Papists that are without the Country, as *France* or *Spain*, will never in their Hearts wish him to be King of *England*. *France*, for his Nearness to them, will not desire that he be so great, in respect of his Claim to their own Country, and because so the League with *Scotland* will fall, and they shall want the Assistance of the *Scots* against that Title. *Spain* pretends a Title themselves, which the Papists in *England* will rather set forward than hinder. Such Papists as are within the Island are of small Force, and almost of none yet in *Scotland*, and not so many in *England* as to counterpoise the Protestants. Bishops there stand by the State, not the State by them; Men of mean Birth, no great Riches, less Following, or Friendship; easy to be framed to what Course he pleaseth, their Lifetime being reserved, or without Condition. Those that seek Reformation are the Strength of that Country, and certainly the wisest in it; of greatest Power by the People's Favour, and Credit in Parliament, and every where. Your Lordship hath seen the Letter directed to you all from some of them, containing their Judgment, not to be contemned; gain these, gain that Country. This, as it is the Truth, would be imprinted in his Mind by such Persons and Means as are fit, and others removed, who perswade him otherwise; and his Majesty made to know, that by mingling of Religions, or by professing, or seeming to incline to a contrary Religion, he cannot attain to that Kingdom. That he is happy in this, that the advancing of the true Religion is most profitable for his Honour and prosperous Estate in the World, and the best Mean to preserve his own, and to attain another Kingdom. Neither doth he stand in need of any

bastard or spurious Policy; a sincere Uprightness in maintaining Justice and Religion in this his present Kingdom, will serve his Turn; and the more seriously and exactly that he follow this way, it will increase his Reputation so much the more there; and facilitate his Designs. And this is that which will most thoroughly join him to your Lordship, as the Opinion of the contrary is the most effectual Mean that ever they can use to disjoin him from you. From the same Ground it arises to be considered, whether it be fit to suffer his Majesty and the Ministry to be at such Variance, they finding Fault with him, and he committing and confining them; and if it be not to be feared that it beget in him a loathing of them, and in them and the Country a Weariness of him; and whether therefore it were not better to interpose your Credit to inform him freely and truly, than thus to look through your Fingers (as we speak) and behold Things, and only now and then procure some little Relief to them; which Form of dealing rather fosters the Rancour than remedies it, seeing the King gets not the Thanks of it himself.

CERTAINLY if I were a Politician, an ill affected Statesman, and had a Desire to make way for another Infrant, I would take this Course to incense him and irritate him against the Ministry, that he might commit them; or at least feed his Disposition herein, that so he might be brought to loath them, and to be loathed of them, and so take away that great Expectation Men had of his Religion, and their Love to him for it: I would divide him from such, and such from him; then bring him to a Neutrality in Religion; then to countenance Men of contrary Religion; then stir Suspensions on each Side; then Alienation would fol-

follow, and what nor. But as I am, out of my poor Affection towards his Majesty, I do wish that these Occasions were taken away. I wish, I say, that your Lordship see to it, as you would have Things right, and out of that Mind you spake of, which was, that you have the Honour to be nearer in Kin to him than to any King that can come after him; howbeit your Lordship is in the same Degree of Kindred with the next apparent, my Lord Hamilton's Children. But you desire no Change, I know, and that it may continue in the present Race, as I am perswaded that Hamilton himself hath no other Mind: Yet the Matter is worthy your Lordship's Consideration, so much the more, as ye have had Experience how far evil Company about him hath had Power already to make Things go on. I leave it, and rest, as having no Particular, save only to wish well, and to follow as your Lordship goes before. In the mean time I have also here a Note (of a Sheet of Paper or two) concerning the Abuses in the Church and Common-wealth, sent to me by Mr. James Melvill, to be, I know, imparted to your Lordship: You may lay it by you, and read it when you have Leisure, for your Remembrance.

THIS he took; and having read a little of it, with a deep Sigh, which expressed the inward Passion of his Heart, *God knows my Part*, says he, *I shall neglect nothing that is possible for me to do; and would to God the King knew my Heart, how I am affected to his Welfare, and would give Ear to me. But, &c.*

MANY times was he most earnestly dealt with to take more upon him, to frequent the Court more, and to make his Residence at it, especially by Sir Lewis Ballantine. His Pretext was the common Cause, and the Good of it; but it proceeded from a Particular betwixt him and

and Mr. *John Maitland* then Secretary, who had crossed him in some Suit he had concerning *Orkney*, and drawn the half of it to his own Use; for which Cause he endeavoured to employ the same Gentleman to have perswaded my Lord to that purpose: But he knowing both my Lord's Inability of Body and Averseness of Mind, told him sincerely and plainly which way my Lord was inclined; and that his Disposition was not to be drawn by any Man farther than he thought fit: And for his own part, he was to follow his Lordship, and not to prescribe him what he should do. Sir *Lewis* grieved very much hereat, having been familiar with him of old, and complained to his Friends that the Earl of *Angus* was too slow, and that he had one with him that was as slow as himself.

Not long after, the Infirmary of his Body increasing, and his Strength and Health decreasing, he was seldom able to come to Court, and could not stay long at it when he did come. I find (in a Note of those Times) that at the Parliament holden in *Edinburgh* in June 1587, there was some Dispute betwixt the Earl of *Angus* and Master of *Glamis*: But I remember no such thing, neither do I know how there could be any publick Dissention either in this or any other thing, howbeit they differed in Judgment concerning the guiding of State Affairs, yet I see not how that could come to any publick Contention.

His Associates propounded to him to accept the Office of Chancellor, which had been vacant ever since the removing of *James Stewart*. This he did familiarly impart to the former Gentleman, and asked his Opinion therein; who answered plainly, That it was indeed the most fit Place for him, as being the most honourable Office in the Kingdom,

The Chancellor's Place offered to *Angus*.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

by which he might do most good Offices to his Country, in Council, Session, and elsewhere; and that by that Occasion it brought great Dependence, and many Followers: That it had been before in the Hands of his Predecessors, as of Earl *Archibald* the first, called *Bell the Cat*, and of late in the Earl of *Morton's*, before he was Regent. But *Angus* answered, That it required Skill in the Laws, and more Learning than he had. It was replied, That in very Deed much Learning was not absolutely necessary; that it was not known what Learning *Archibald* the first had, and it is not likely that he had much; but it was well known that the Earl of *Morton* had very little or none, not so much in the *Latin* Tongue, as he himself had, and yet he had discharged the Office with Credit. A natural Judgment to conceive and resume the Question, and the Reasons of each Side, is more needful in a Chancellor than Learning, his Part being properly to do that: Whereas the Decision seldom hangs upon his Vote; or if it come to that, Learning does not always the Turn; Knowledge of the Customs of the Country is more requisite, and is only required in Council. As for the Session Business, the President does commonly supply the Chancellor's Room. Besides, seeing that ordinarily the Question is not ended at the first Hearing, what is difficult may be advised and tossed by whom your Lordship pleaseth, before the next Hearing. And although you find not that full Sufficiency for the present which you could wish, yet Time and Custom will bring Experience, and Experience beget Knowledge. And this is said to have been observed of the Earl of *Morton*, that having been rude enough at first, he became afterwards very skilful, and as sufficient as any Man in the Kingdom; and therefore
your

your Lordship needs not to distrust yourself in the like Case. Well (says my Lord) I know not what Dexterity either of them hath had: And as for the Earl of *Morton*, though he wanted Letters, yet he was of a singular Judgment, scarce to be matched by any in this Age. But for my own part, as I yet think, neither am I able for the present to discharge it; neither do I think it fit to enter into an Office before I have learned what belongs to it; neither can I digest to do it by others, seeing I ought to do it myself: Yet I shall advise.

THE Conclusion was, he rejected it, and thereupon it was given to Secretary *Maitland*, to his Associates great Grief, he having ever been a Man of a contrary Faction and Disposition in all Business of the Common-wealth.

Herejects it.
Maitland made Chancellor.

He accepted of the Office of Lieutenant on the Borders willingly, being more suitable to his Disposition, and his proper Element, as we speak; and he professed, that he delighted as much to hunt out a Thief, as others did to hunt a Hare; and that it was as natural to him, as any other Pastime is to another Man. But he lived not long after this, nor had he time to do any memorable thing in it. He made only one Road against the outlawed Thieves of the Name of *Armstrong*, most of them after the King was gone home, who had been present at the casting down of their Houses. He pursued them into the *Tarras Moss*, which was one of their greatest Strengths, and whither no Host had ever been known to have followed them before; and in which they did confide much, because of the Straitness of the Ground. He used great Diligence and Industry, but the Success was not answerable to his Expectation. Neither did he forget to keep his Intention secret, acquainting none of the People of that Country therewithal, until he

Angus Lieutenant on the Borders.

The Road at the *Tarras Moss*.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

was ready to march. Then directing one *Jarvis* of *Applegirth* to go to the other Side, whether he knew they behoved to flee, he sent with him one of his especial Followers, whom he knew to be well affected to the Service, to see that he did his Duty. He himself with the Army came openly and directly to the Place of their Abode, that they fleeing from him, might fall into the Hands of *Applegirth* and his Company, who were come in sufficient good Time, before the Army could be seen to that Passage which they were sent to keep. But the Birds were all flown, and there was nothing left but the empty Nest, having no Question had some Inking thereof, but it could not be tried by whom the Notice had been given them. In the Retreat, they shew themselves, and rode about to intercept and catch such as might happen incircumspectly to straggle from the Army, and they failed very narrowly to have entrapped *William Douglas* of *Ively*, a young Gentleman of my Lords Family; for which Incircumspection, he was soundly chid by him, as having thereby hazarded his own Person, and his Lord's Honour.

AFTER this he came to *Langhope*, where his Infirmary having continued long, and being now increased through Travel, it grew at last to a formed Disease: Wherefore he was carried from thence to *Smirton*, near to *Dalkeith*, a House belonging to *James Richardson*, of whom we have spoken before. His Care of the Good of the Church, which was ever in his Mouth during his Sickneſs, shewed that it lay nearest to his Heart of all other things. There he departed out of this transitory Life, with great Comfort to himself, and great Grief of all honest Men, and with general regretting of

all Men; there being none such an Enemy to him, or who did so envy or hate him, as not to express his Sorrow for his Death: King, Courtiers, Noblemen, Barons, Burgesse, Commons, Men of all Degrees did lament him; such was the forceable Power of Virtue in him. Of which we will say no more, only we will set down this following Elogium to be considered by the Reader, than which nothing can be said more true: Here therefore let it remain as a Witness of his Virtue, and the Writer's deserved Affection.

*Morte jacet sanctus Angustus, spes illa bonorum,
Terror malorum maximus;
Cui, laude & luctu meritis, pia turba parantat;
Patrem, Parentem ingeminans.
Par studium impietas simulat: quem carpere livor
Vivum solebat, mortuum
Aut veris sequitur lacrymis, aut gaudia fictis
Celat pudenda; & laudibus
Saltem non fictis os pendè invita resolvit,
Seque arguit mendacii.
O laus! O veri vis! O victoria! honosque
Cunctis triumphis clarior!*

YET were not the Aspersions of his Enemies, if he had any such, of any Consequence, I say, if he had any, for he had no private Enemies who hated him for his own Cause; only such as were Enemies to the Country and the true Religion hated him, as a main Supporter of these. The greatest Objection they had against him (I mean that carried any Show of Truth) was his Modesty, (which they termed Slowness) but after his Death, all Mouths were closed, The Love which was generally born to him was exceeding great, both for his House and Family's Sake which was ever the most popular in this Kingdom of all other Names)

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

Names) as also, and that no less, for his own Virtue and personal Humanity and Courtesy. He was of a blackish and swarthy Complexion, tall of Stature, and of a slender Body, but well proportioned and straight limbed, of a weak and tender Constitution, and not very able to endure Travel, but having Courage enough, and Willingness to undergo. His Death was ascribed to Witchcraft; and one Barbara Napier in Edinburgh, Wife to Archibald Douglas of the House of Coshogle, was apprehended on Suspicion, but I know not whether she was convicted of it or not; only it was reported that she was found guilty, and that the Execution was deferred, because she was with Child, but afterwards, no Body insisting in the Pursuit of her, she was set at Liberty. Anna Simpson, a famous Witch is reported to have confessed at her Death, that a Picture of Wax was brought to her, having A. D. written on it, which, as they said to her, did signify Archibald Davidson, and she not thinking of the Earl of Angus, whose Name was Archibald Douglas, and might have been called Davidson, because his Father's Name was David, did consecrate or execrate it after her Form, which, she said, if she had known to have represented him, she would not have done it for all the World. He died the Day of 1588 Years: His Body was buried in Abernethy, and his Heart in Douglas, by his own Direction. He is the last Earl of the Race of George, intituled Master of Angus, who was slain at Flowdon.

The Translation of the Verses in the preceding Page.

Of Archibald the ninth Earl of Angus.

Angus, by cruel Death, lies here,
The good Man's Hope, the Wicked's Fear;
The Praise and Sorrow of the most
Religious, who as having lost

A Father, mourn; worst Men are known
To feign a Woe if they have none;
Envy, accustomed to wrong
His guiltless Life, employs her Tongue,
Now a loud Trumpet of his Fame;
And weeps, if not for Grief, for Shame;
Enforc'd to give herself the Ly:
O Power of Truth! O Victory!
By which more Honour is obtain'd;
Than is in greatest Triumphs gain'd.

Archibaldus Duglassius Angulus,

O Lim seva truci dente calumnia,
Clam vanas ad opes fraude vlam struent,
Mussabat, posito aut palam pudore
Factabat caput in meum;

(O si non nimium credita!) Crimina,
Foeda atrociaque infandaque crimina,
Aut duro Lepido, aut fero Cethegi
Patrandum genio nefas.

Quos cecis stimulis ambitio impotens,
Aut aestu rabies fervida pectoris,
Auri aut sacra mali fames in omne
Egit precipites scelus.

Moliri in patriam incendia, spicula
In patrem patrie, sanctaque numina
Regum alti solio Jova locata
Celsis pellere sedibus.

Regni praesidium, spem, decus extera
Gente ludibrium tradere, civium
Vota, & pontificis (nefas) tyranni,
Roma degeneris metum.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

O lingua improbitas, callida nectere
Fraudes, insidias, exitium bonis;

Regum aures animosque suspicaces,

Ficco ludere crimine;

Hac cuncti cūmulum flagitii manus
Patrare? hac satinus mens coquere, impium!

Hac coctum potuit probare? potius

Hoc conscire nefas sibi?

At me, qui sapiens intima sensuum
Scrutaris Deus (ex quisquis erat mihi

Arcani penito sinu repositi

Testis) crimine liberas.

Vita perpetuus composita tenor;

Mens legum patiens, imparii jugum

Iusti legitimum subire mitis;

Cunctis cedere lenitas;

Non claros atavos stemmate regio;

Regnatasque atavis pend provincias,

Et belli decora, & feri triumphis

Partam Martis adoriam;

Non longo titulos ordine turgidos,

Arces pennigeris turribus arduas,

Non turbam numerans gravem clientum,

Latis pradia finibus.

Nudi simplicitas candida pectoris,

Et semper similis cana fides sui;

Fraudes impietas licet doloſque

Laudans clam sibi rideat.

Sincera rigide iustitiæ tonax

Dextra, à flagitio libera, sanguinis

Expers innocui, doli, rapina;

Solis noxia furibus.

Archibald

Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus

B Lack slander erst her Ends to gain,
Employ'd her Art to wound my Name
Low Whispers were her secret Train,
Her open Force lies void of Shame.

O ! that they had less credit found,
As from the Thought my Heart was free;
Lepidus nor *Cethegus* own'd
Such Mischiefs as were charg'd on me.

Whom Love of Vengeance set on Fire,
Or blind Ambition overstay'd,
Or Hope of Riches or Desire
Of Pleasure, t' every Vice betray'd,

As if my Soul such Plots had known
As would a publick Ruin bring
By Justling from his sacred Throne
My Country's Father, and my King.

And so to foreign Scorn expose
The Kingdom's Glory, Shield and Hope;
The People's Joy and daily Vows,
The Scourge and Terror of the Pope.

Thus wicked Tongues with cunning Art
Weave Nets, the Innocent to catch,
And to the jealous Ear impart
Feign'd Treasons, which their Fancies hatch.

So base a Villany to act
Was it, for such a Hand as mine,
Or could my Breast contrive the Fact,
Or conscious be of the black Sin.

But I appeal, my God to thee,
Who know'st my Heart, and to those Friends

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

Who were most intimate with me,
How much I loth'd unworthy Ends.

The constant Tenor of my Life,
Was calm Obedience to the Will
Of rightful Power: detesting Strife
I shunn'd (more than resisted) Ill.

Though my Descent from Kings I drew,
And in my Grandfires well might see
A princely Power, none ever knew
A bragging Vainy in me.

No empty Titles fill'd my Mind
With hateful Pride; nor stately Tops
Of Tow'rs, large Fields, nor Troops of kind
And humble Followers, swell'd my Hopes.

An equal Virtue led my Way,
A spotless Truth adorn'd my Heart,
Let wicked Falsehood boast and say;
Lo what I compass by my Art.

By me sincere strict Justice dwelt,
From guiltless Blood my Hand was free,
No Wrong my Harmless Neighbour felt,
Only Thieves punish'd were by me.

*Ad Archibaldum tertium, cum post primum
exilium reversus, ultra Speiam Elginii in
Moravia relegatus esset.*

Nuper fortuna varias experie procellas
Anguste, & velis aquora iniqua tuis:
Nuper in immenso pelagi jactate profundo,
Obruteque insantis pene voraginibus:
Nunc quoque, nescio quos, iterum subiture labores,
Quicquid id est forti pectore perfer onus.
Discede tristitia nebulas; frontemque serena,

An-

Anxietas animo sit procul atra tuo, or od W
Pelle graves curas, propinquantem & parcos severi
Sponte sua sati precipitare diem.

Degeneres animos flatibus levis aura sinistri ad E
Dejicit, aeternis in tenebrisque premit.

At mala cum pungunt, tuleris si fortiter illa,
Materiesque tibi causaque laudis erunt.

Scilicet ille viros dignus numerari inter,
Hunc sequitur firmo gloria celsa pede.

Cui non dejecit mutatum nubila vultum,
Blanda nec in fastus susculit aura leves.

Qui solidum vita servans, certumque tenorem,
Robore fortunam vicit utramque pari.

Ut fremat hinc Boreas, illinc ruat Eurus & Auster,
Et quatiat timidam fluctibus unda ratem.

Illam tamen medios inter secura tumultus
Etheris, & rapidi vimque minasque freti.

Sape tenet cursum optatum, portuque potita
Despicit irati murmura rauca maris.

Hinc capo non obscura tua exemplaria vira:
Dura: nec rebus cedere disce malis.

Magnis te quoque jungo viris: quid passus Ulysses?
Exul in ignoto nudus inopsque solo.

Quid? cui Roma sua tulit incunabula gentis?
Quis sua in Adriaco Troja renata mari?

At quid ego hac antiqua? quid & peregrina
recordor?

Ditior exemplis stat patria alta suis:
Stat genus ordine longo: atavos age, respice, a-

vosque.

Quot sunt Duglasix nomina magna domus:
Quot bello insignesque duces, & fortibus armis

Heroes; sacri gloria quisque sui.
Quem non nobilitat virtus afflicta? polo quem

Non aequat? numera: vix reor, unus erit.
Omnis turba salo fortuna exercita, & omnes

Passa vices, versa ludibriumque rota:
Quas pax infida insidias, discrimina, bellum.

Quaque habet exitii radia longa dies:
Nec nisi post exantlatos venere labores.

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

Otia, nec nisi post dura pericla quies.
 Te quoque defunctum, confide, laboribus olim
 Latior excipiet, candidiorque dies.
 Securusque inter dulces memorabis amicos
 Tu quoque fortuna tristitia facta tua:
 Tristitia nunc: sed qua tunc & meminisse iuvabit;
 Agnosce & decoris prima elementa tui:
 Hac itum, hac quicunque alta affectabit, eun-
 dum est:

Hæc te sublimi, gloria celsa, viâ
 Sistet avos supra, atque atavos, accingere: O re
 Quid fors! quid virtus! quid Deus ipse vocat!
 Fallor? an heroas supra priscosque futurosque
 Tollere te tanta sidera mole parant.
 Virtuti labor est comes: ire per ardua rerum
 Gaudet & invicto fata superba gradu.
 Aude ingens, jam nunc superi ad templa ardua
 Olympi

Carpere, quâ prorum semita monstrat iter:
 Aude, inquam, nec tu surgentia nubila ventis
 Æthera, terram, undas, tartarave ipsa time.
 Tantum, quem venerare Deum pius, igneus instat
 Sollicitans, cursus dirigit ille tuos.
 Ille gubernaculo succedet rector & ille
 Inveniet facilem per vada salsa viam;
 Anfractusque vagos per, & avia, & invia vita,
 Et brevia, & syrtes saxaque cæca ratem
 Securam in placida sistet statione: petere
 Ut teneas celsi flammea templa poli.

To Archibald the third, when after his Return
 from his first Banishment, he was confined to
 Elgin of Murray beyond Spey.

THou who but lately didst endure the Smarts
 Of roughest Storms, and with a Pilot's Art,
 Has 'scap'd the many Dangers of the Seas,
 O Angus! now, in Place of wished Ease,
 New

New Troubles come; I know not by what Fate:
Keep your great Spirit firm in every State.
Shake off sad Thoughts, and let your Looks
appear

Chearful, without the darkning Clouds of Fear.
Deep Cares expel, let not Impatience haste
Those Ills, which of themselves approach too
fast.

Poor worthless Souls are prest below the Weight
Of light Afflictions: To a noble Height
In cross Affairs do thou thy Courage raise:
By this thou may'st obtain deserved Praise.
He merits Honour, and may justly be
Esteem'd a Man, whom no Adversity
Dejects, nor prosperous Success swells with
Pride;

But by a constant Temper doth abide
Still like himself, and with an equal Mind
Both Fortunes bears. Let ev'ry boist'rous Wind
And threatening Wave oppose his labouring Oar,
He steers his Course, and seeks the wished Shore,
Slighting the angry Water's chiding Noise.
Let these (like hard) Examples prompt your
Choice:

Learn to meet Ills, till you with all compare
For Fortitude admir'd: *Ulysses* bare
Worse Harms than yours; a Stranger, poor,
alone,

Uncloath'd, an Exile, wandring and unknown.
Aeneas and *Antenor* suffered long

Ere *Rome* was built, or *Venice*: But I wrong
Our own, to dwell on Strangers, since there be
More Store at Home; mark the whole Progeny
Of *Douglasses* your Fathers, how they are
Fam'd for their gallant Acts in Peace and War:
Each Worthy was the Glory of his Time:
None without Virtue can to Honour climb.
Look on all Ages, you shall hardly see
One rais'd by Fortune, but through Misery.

Who

Of Archibald the third of that Name,

Who live at Ease, and least Disturbance feel,
Soon bear the Mock'ry of her rowling Wheel.
How many Trains hath Peace? What Discords
War?

What Troubles Exile? Yet no Pleasures are
Obtained but after Toil; nor have we Rest
Till Dangers and Difficulties are past.
So thou, when this is past, hereafter may
Enjoy at home a calm and pleasing Day:
And to your dear Friends chearfully relate
The sad Effects of Fortune's sullen Hate:
Sad now, but pleasant to remember, when
Your Prentisage hath brought a noble Gain.
This is the way: Would you a great Name win?
Then tread the Steps your Grandfires travel'd in.
Where Virtue, Fortune, where your God doth
call,

Follow: My Thoughts deceive me, or you shall
Excel those Worthies who already are,
Or will be famous: So the Stars prepare
Your Youth. Fair Virtue never dwells alone,
Hard Labour is her near Companion:
Uneasy Tasks she loves, and joys to beat
The roughest Ways, and triumph over Fate.
Be bold and onward take your mounting Flight,
Till you have reach'd a true *Olympian* Height,
Be bold, I say, and let no furious Wind,
(Though Earth and Hell should mix) shake your
brave Mind.

Only with God, whom you must still adore,
You may be instant, and his Aid implore:
Let him direct your Course, and he will be
Your Pilot through the Waves of Misery,
Steering your Bark by every Rock and Shelf;
Each strait and wheeling Pool; his sacred self
Will guide the Oar, first to a Place of Rest
On Earth, then after Death thou shalt be blest.

F I N I S.